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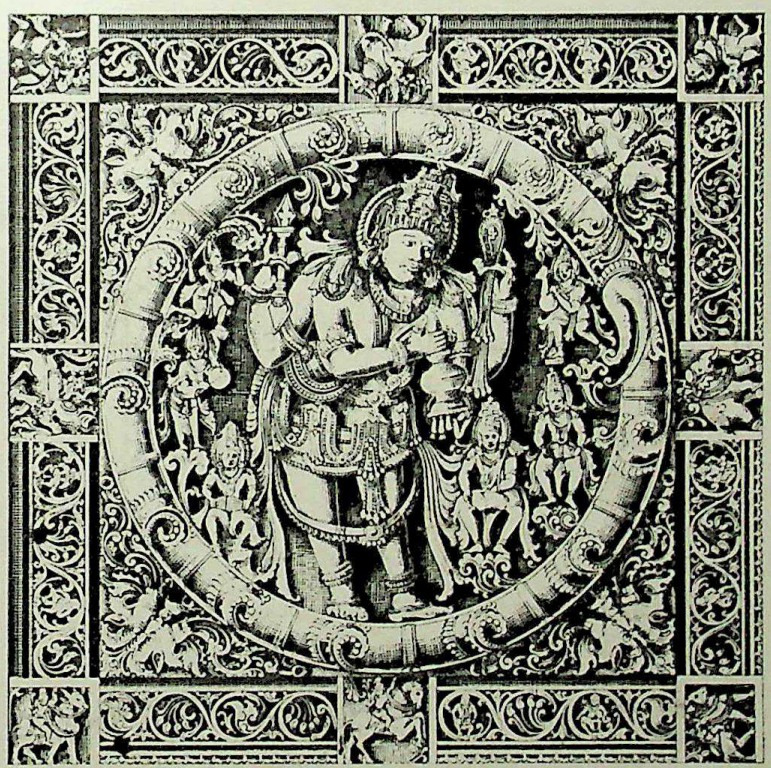

Figure 6
Indra from ceiling in front of Gommateśvara at Śravaṇa Belgola
(Drawing from original)

Refer to Dr. U. P. Shah's Article

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THE ORIGIN OF BRAHMANICAL IMAGE-WORSHIP AND THE ICONO-GENIC PROPERTIES IN ṚGVEDA

By
AYODHYA CHANDRA DASS*

Image-worship constitutes an essential part of the Brahmanical religious complex. As is practically evidenced, image-worship is invariably applied, in a particular way or other, almost to every type of religious ceremony if strictly observed in accordance with the Brahmanical rules. It generally appears too odd to assume a Hindu ritual without an image whether be it physical, mental or symbolic.

Image-worship has been so popular with the Hindus that even a *Vedāntin*, an ardent devotee of *nirguṇa* (unqualified) *Brahman*, does not hesitate to prescribe meditation upon *saguṇa* (qualified) *Brahman* especially for a beginner.[1] So are the *Yogin*s whose absolute aim is to be merged with the *turīya* (the fourth, or indefinable) *Brahman*, also consider it wise to contemplate upon *saguṇa*

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec. '84 issue, pp. 1-11.

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1 Cp. *Vedāntasāra* where Sadānanda prescribes the eligibility of a student of *Vedānta* in following terms : *adhikārī tu vidhivad-adhīta-veda-vedāṅga-tvenāpātato' dhigatākhila-vedārtho'smin janmani janmāntare vā kāmyaniṣiddha-varjana-puraṣsaraṃ nitya-naimittika-prāyaścittopāsanānuṣṭhānena nirgata-nikhila-kalmaṣatayā nitānta-nirmala-svāntaḥ sādhana-catuṣṭaya-saṃpannaḥ pramātā* (*ll.* 8-11). Again, he explains the term *Upāsanā*, thus : *upāsanāni saguṇa-brahma-viṣaya-mānasavyāpāra-rūpāṇi śāṇḍilya-vidyādīni* (*ll.* 15-16).

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Brahman, in the beginning, to achieve *samādhi*.[2] This trend amply implies that an image in the Brahmanical religion, is basically regarded as an indispensable means for attaining spiritual progress. It seems, therefore, proper to attempt to trace the origin of image-worship in India.

According to Hindu belief, almost everything prevalent in Hindu society has traditionally come down from the *Vedas*. So, in accordance with this concept, it is possible that the tradition of image-worship may have also come from the same source though in a modified form. But, as far as the *Vedas*, especially the *Saṃhitās*, are concerned, there is nothing mentioned clearly in this matter. In fact, through a general study of the *Saṃhitās*, it commonly appears that in these texts, image-worship is neither clearly suggested nor categorically denied. Besides, some evidence of primitive iconography is found in the shape of terracotta seals, depicting human figures and terracotta figurines at the well-known sites of the Indus Valley Civilization.[3]

2. *Views of Indologists on the Vedic Deities :*

(a) *Ancient :*

The issue whether the descriptions of the deities praised in the *Saṃhitās*, especially in the *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā*, are iconographical or not remains yet a controversy. Yāska, the most ancient interpreter of the Vedic religion and mythology, reports that there had been an ancient tradition that held the view that the descriptions of the Vedic deities are exclusively iconographic. He mentions three different traditions. One assumed that the Vedic deities ' resemble human being in form '. The second view held that they ' do not resemble human form '. And according to the third, they have ' both these qualities '.[4] Śaunaka, in his *Bṛhaddevatā*, gives an *aitihāsika* (legendary) account of the Vedic deities, in such a way that their iconographic appearance becomes clear.[5] The same is the case with the commentaries of the ancient Vedic scholiasts, from Skanda to Mudgala, who seem to have held the view that the shapes and forms of the Vedic deities are self-evident.

(b) *Modern :*

The modern Indologists do not believe that there was any connection between image-worship and the Vedic culture. According to them, neither an

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2 Cp. *Pātañjalayogasūtrāni*, I.22. Narrating various conditions for achieving *a-saṃ-prajñāta samādhi*, Patañjali says : *Īśvara-praṇidhānād vā*,

3 For a detailed account on this matter Cp. John Marshall : *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, 3 Vols. London, 1931.

4 *Nirukta*, VII.2 : *athākāra-cintanaṃ devatānām puruṣavidhāḥ syur ity-ekam .. a-puruṣa-vidhāḥ syur ity-aparam .. api vobhaya-vidhāḥ syuḥ.*

5 *Bṛhaddevatā* (ed. by Ramkumar Rai, Varanasi, 1963), Chs. III-VIII.

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idol nor a temple finds mention in the entire *Saṃhitā* literature. The phenomenon of image-worship is, indeed, a later development and a degradation of the higher system of the Vedic religion.[6] However, there have been a few Indologists like Bollensen, who believe that the Vedic gods are actually represented iconographically and anthropomorphic forms are vividly assigned to them.[7] But, such views are either ignored or strongly refuted by other scholars.[8]

3. *Reason for controversy* :

This controversy, which is yet to be settled, is actually caused by the *Saṃhitā* texts which hold definite but shadowy pictures of the forms and shapes of the divine beings. In addition to this, the spiritual blend has added further complicacy transforming this issue almost into a riddle which in its turn, has compelled some Indologists to shun themselves from this issue, at least, while making a general statement on the Vedic religion and mythology[9]

4. *Reference to Image Worship* :

Categorical references to the image-worship appear, probably for the first time, in the *Sūtras*.[10] The earlier literature fails to provide a clear clue to either iconolatry or iconography to the satisfaction of modern scholars. The *Upaniṣads* exclusively deal with the soul (*jīvātman*) and the Supreme (*Brahman*) which is beyond shape, quality, even name. The *Brāhmaṇa* texts chiefly describe the process of various sacrifices and, by the way, shed light on the symbolic image-worship.[11] And, the *Saṃhitās*, as mentioned above, neither prescribe nor prohibit such type of worship. Possibly, because of this, the scholars postulate that iconolatry was introduced to Brahmanism by foreign cultures through long-term contacts.[12]

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6 Müller, Fredrich Max : *The Vedas*, Varanasi, 1969, p. 34 : " First of all, the religion of the *Veda* knows no idols. The worship of idols in India is a secondary formation, a later degradation of the more primitive worship of ideal gods ".

7 As quoted by V. S. Ghate. Cp. *Ghate's Lecture on Rigveda* (ed. by V. S. Sukthankar), Poona, p. 125.

8 E.g. Cp. *Kaegi Adols* : *The Rigveda*, New Delhi, 1975, p. 120, note No. 79a : .. " the inference of Bollensen, ZDMG. 22, 587f., are incorrect ". A. A. Macdonell : (*VM*) *The Vedic Mythology*, Sec. 66C, p. 155.

9 Cp. Ghate, V. S. : *Ibid.*, p. 125 : " We need not trouble ourselves with such questions as whether the Vedic gods had personal forms or not .. "

10 Macdonell, A. A. : (HSL), *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 65. Later *Brāhmaṇas* also mention of the images of gods. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

11 Macdonell, A. A. : *VM.*, sec., 66C, p. 155.

12 Eg. Cp. Coomaraswamy, A. K. : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New Delhi, 1972, pp. 5, 42 & c.

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5. *Image-worship and the Vedic Society* :

A careful study of the *Veda*s shows that the image-worship in India has its very roots in the *Ṛgveda*. Although actual icon-worship might not have been prevalent among all the families of the Vedic seers, yet it was, however, practised symbolically in one way or the other.[13] The shapes of divine beings are so clear in the mind of the Vedic seers that the concept of image (*bimba-kalpanā*) seems to belong to the pre-Vedic period. If the Vedic seers had evolved their mythology afresh through observation of different phenomena of nature, the basic elements of some deities like Aśvins, Viṣṇu, Mitra, Varuṇa etc. would not have been obscure for being thickly enwrapped in mythological layers. Possibly, the Vedic seers have traditionally inherited their religion and mythology from their predecessors who had founded this culture as the culture of nature-worship, by themselves, through agelong observation of various types of changing phenomena of nature. And, this is why the mythological layers around some Vedic gods are not fully transparent through which all their basic aspects can thoroughly be perceived.

6. *The nature of the Saṃhitā*s :

Before drawing a conclusion whether there is any indication to image-worship in the *Saṃhitā*s or not, the nature—the primary purpose—of these texts should be considered. This is generally accepted as a fact that the *mantra*s, which were composed during a certain period, were primarily collected, and carefully categorised and edited, to be used chiefly in rituals different in the shape of four books which are popularly known as *Saṃhitā*s (compilations). None of the books are, therefore, considered either old or new while the date of composition of these hymns, contained in these four volumes, may differ to a considerable extent. The *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* is the 'book of prayers', the *Sāmavedasaṃhitā* is the 'book of songs', the *Yajurvedasaṃhitā* is the 'book of sacrificial formulas' and the *Atharvavedasaṃhitā* is the 'book of *Atharvans*' (the fire-priests). None of these books were meant for dealing with the art of iconography. Therefore, the judgement, that the system of image-worship was unknown to the Vedic society for absence of such indications in the *Saṃhitā*s, seems to be baseless. On the contrary, there are strong grounds for supposing otherwise.

7. *Image-worship and the Yajuṣ School :*

Yajurvedasaṃhitā, especially of the Black school, mentions symbolic images, here and there, in its *Brāhmaṇa* parts, a peculiar phenomenon which is totally absent in the book of the White school. The Brahmanical texts, especially

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13 Bouquet, A. C. : *Hinduism*, London, 1966, p. 84. Cp. also Macdonell, A. A. : *The Vedic Mythology*, Sec. 66C; and *RV*. 24.10; VIII. 1.5.

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those of *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, are full of symbolic image-worship. These portions of the Vedic literature, because of their being later development, cannot be entirely overlooked. On the contrary, it is highly possible that the ancient traditions might have originally been preserved and the later developments also might have evolved in agreement with the old.[14]

8. *Image-worship and the Ṛgveda :*

Apart from the proofs collected from various Vedic texts by some modern Indologists to show the iconolatric possibilities there, it is thought to be better to examine some common *mantra*s from the ancient-most work on Hindu religion and mythology, the *Ṛgveda*, to know if there is any iconogenic properties, and also to trace as to whether the Vedic seers had an intention towards image-worship.

The Vedic descriptions of gods are so pictorial in nature that the image of a particular god becomes quite clear in the mind of the reader. For example, sòme *mantra*s are quoted as under :

I. ā′ kṛṣṇéna rájasā vártamāno,
niveśáyann amṛ′taṃ mártyaṃ ca.
hiraṇyáyena savitā′ ráthena,
ā′ devó yāti bhúvanāni páśyan.[15]

(Rolling through dark world, laying to rest the gods and men, on his golden chariot, god Savitṛ approaches, seeing the world).

This *mantra* belongs to a hymn dedicated to Savitṛ who represents the spiritual aspect of the solar orb.[16] In this *mantra* the solar position at night, possibly before morning, is described. Although, here, no physical trait of this god is directly mentioned, but, clearly suggested : " Seeing the world, Savitṛ approaches towards us ".

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14 Cp. Agrawala V. S. : ' Hindu Religion in the *Purāṇa*s ', *Purāṇa*, Varanasi, VI. No. 2, 1964, pp. 333-46 ; & *Prajñā*, XI. No. 2, 1966, pp. 94-105 ; Mainkar, T. G. : ' The Vedic Gods and the Later Sanskrit Literature ', *University of Rājasthan Studies*, Jaipur, No. 6, 1973-74, pp. 67-71.

15 *RV*, I. 35.2 ; *VS*, XXXIII, 43 ; XXXIV 31 ; *TS*, III. 4.11.2.

16 For a detailed account cp. Macdonell A. A. : *VM*, sec. 15.

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II. yáḥ pṛthivī'ṃ vyáthamānām ádṛṃhad,
yáḥ párvatān prákupitāṁ áramṇāt.
yó antárikṣaṃ vimané várīyo,
yô dyā'm ástabhnāt sá janāsa índraḥ.[17]

("Who firmly established the trembling earth, who fixed the unstable mountains, who widened the firmament and who supported the sky, he, O men, is Indra".)

The above *mantra* is dedicated to Indra who is commonly understood to be a representative of the atmospheric phenomenon.[18] In this *mantra*, the geological disturbances, *viz.*, volcanic activities, also are included. Here, also, the physical traits of this god are totally absent. Yet, this *mantra* strongly suggests that Indra had an extraordinarily strong physique and power by which he was able to perform these supernatural deeds. It should be remembered that Indra is the king of heavens in the *Purāṇas*.

III. kím ít te viṣṇo paricakṣyáṃ bhūt,
prá yád vavakṣé śipiviṣṭó asmi.
mā' várpo asmád ápa gūha etád,
yád anyárūpaḥ samithé babhū'tha.[19]

("O Viṣṇu, what has become to your appearance ? You say : I have concealed my form. Do not conceal that form you assumed in the battle field".)

In this *mantra*, the phenomenon of nature represented by Viṣṇu is entirely out of sight. Actually, Viṣṇu is such a deity who, in the *Vedas*, is scantily described without any physical trait.[20] The only physical trait frequently suggested by his three mysterious steps is so inseparably blended with mythological developments that, inspite of arduous efforts of Indologists, it remains unexplained.[21] But, here, his two different forms are clearly indicated, which can, however, be compared, because of his multiformity, with *Viśvarūpa* mentioned in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

17 *RV*. II. 12.2 ; *AV*, XX. 34.2.

18 Cp. Macdonell A. A. : *VM*, sec. 22.

19 *RV*, VII. 100.6 ; *SV*, 1625 ; *TS*, II.2.12.5 ; *Nirukta*, V.2.

20 Cp. Macdonell, A. A. : *VM*, sec. 17.

21 Cp. *Ibid.*, sec. 17, Tilak B. G. : *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, Poona, 1956, pp. 303-310 : and also may be seen the present author's article "The Mysterious steps of the Ṛgvedic Viṣṇu", *Meerut University Sanskrit Research Journal*, Vol. III, pt. 2, 1978, pp. 1-7.

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IV. ví yé bhrā'jante súmakhāsa ṛṣṭíbhiḥ,
pracyāvàyanto àcyutā cid ójasā.
manojúvo yàn maruto ràtheṣvā',
vṛ'ṣavrātāsaḥ pṛ'ṣatīr àyugdhvam.[22]

(" Who like great warriors shine with spears, shaking unshakables with their might, when you, O swift Maruts, with your mighty group, have yoked the spotted mares to your chariots ".)

This *mantra* gives an account of Maruts, the Storm-gods.[23] The awful aspects of the basic elements of these gods, the tempest, seem to have been completely buried under their mythological layers through which the original phenomenon of nature personified as Maruts can hardly be perceived. Instead, a terrifying scene of an army of reckless warriors wearing shining armours and holding sharp-edged weapons appears in the reader's mind.

V. kanyĕva tanvāṣ śā'śadānām̆,
éṣi devi devàm íyakṣamāṇam.
saṃsmáyamānā yuvatíḥ puràstād,
āvír vàkṣāṃsi kṛṇuṣe vibhātī'.[24]

(" O goddess, you, like a physically well-developed damsel, arrive here before the arrival of the god (Sūrya). O shining one, you smilingly exhibit your bosoms ".)

The above *mantra* belongs to one of the hymns dedicated to Uṣas, the presiding deity of the overflowing heavenly splendour and beauty of the eastern sky in the morning.[25] Uṣas comes among the deities around whom the mythological layers are very thinly accumulated and as such are thoroughly transparent. Nevertheless, in this *mantra*, her anthropomorphic image appears so clear that as if she looks like an innocent forest girl who, being in the prime of her youth, is unable to conceal her youthful physical developments.

9. *The Vedic Culture :*

On an examination of these *mantras*, it can be assumed that the Vedic *Āryans* either developed or traditionally inherited the culture of personified

22 *RV*, 1.85.4.
23 Cp. Macdonell, A. A. : *VM*, sec. 29.
24 *RV*, I.123.10.
25 Cp. Macdonell, A. A. . *VM*, sec. 20.

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nature-worship. This seems too superfluous to claim that the element of anthropomorphic personification that ultimately led to the iconographical development in the Puranic mythology is purely non-*Āryan* in nature which through intimate contacts crept in the Vedic culture—'a purely nature-worship'.[26] If this type of amalgamation had actually occurred, it might have happened before the Vedic period, the period of composition of *mantras*. However, there is no concrete evidence to believe such event of amalgamation in this early period, which completely changed the course of the Vedic culture. Furthermore, abundant proofs of image-worship can be witnessed in the Indus Valley Culture (3000-2000 B.C.) which undoubtedly proves the antiquity of image-worship in India.

Moreover, there are scores of such *mantras*, in the *Ṛgveda* itself, as are quite capable to erase the notion that the *Vedas* are 'anti-iconic' and, in addition to this, seem self-sufficient to prove that some seers use to see the figure of a particular deity perceivably standing before them. For example, Śunaḥśepa says : "I saw the world-perceivable (form of Varuṇa) and the chariot on the earth" (*Ṛv.*, I.25.18 : *dárśaṃ nú viśvá-darśataṃ, dárśaṃ rátham ádhi kṣámi*). Secondly, Vasiṣṭha indicates a faint picture of icons and temples as well. He asks Varuṇa as : "When would I decorate you as a servant does to his lord" ? (*ṚV.*, VII.86.7 : *áraṃ dāsó ná mīḷhúṣe karāṇi*). And "When would I come to you to ask of my sin" ? (*ṚV.*, *ibid.*, 3 : *úpo emi cikitúṣo vipṛ'ccham*). If there was no idol what did the seer want to decorate ? And, if there was no temple where did he wish to go to meet Varuṇa ? These open questions invariably need further investigation.

10. *The Vedic Pantheon :*

The Ṛgvedic pantheon is a creation of the mythologically deified personifications of the natural phenomena.[27] Personification implies the knowledge of the person—the individual deity or the particular agent to be worshipped.[28] Herein lies the Vedic mythology, which, in principle, tries to differentiate all individual deities by means of their distinguishing appearance, functions, belongings etc.

'Sūrya appears as a male while Uṣas as a female. Savitṛ appears as a golden deity. Varuṇa is well-dressed, while Uṣas is well-decorated. Pūṣan has braided hair and a beard. Indra seems to be in an incessant war with Vṛtra. Pūṣan is chiefly noticed amidst pastures-grazing cattle. Varuṇa is busy in detecting right and wrong among men, possibly also among animals. Maruts

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26 Cp. Anand, Mulk Raj : 'Art and Inter-Action of Culture', *Cultural Forum*, New Delhi, VII, No. 4, 1965, pp. 6-12.

27 Cp. Levin G. Bongard : *A History of India*, Moscow, 1973, p. 49.

28 Phillips Maurice : *The Teaching of the Vedas*, Delhi, 1976, p. 84.

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hold *ṛṣṭi* (spear). Indra wields *vajra* (thunderbolt). Pūṣan handles an *aṣṭrā* (goad). Savitṛ is drawn by white horses with black legs. Uṣas is drawn by golden cows. Pūṣan's vehicles are the goats '.

Such differentiating mythological elements can be amply quoted even from the *Ṛgveda* itself. The mythological characterisation has grown in the Vedic Culture to such a great extent that the deities are described as having been related to one another with a number of social relations. These factors need no further verifications for these are very widely known today to modern Vedic scholars.[29]

11. *Base of the Indian Iconography :*

This differentiating tendency of the Vedic personification, after being fed further with the Brahmanical mythology, has caused creation of symbolic persons —the icons—in the *Purāṇas*. The seeds of Puranic iconolatry actually lie in the *Ṛgveda*. It is just possible that during the course of development of the Brahmanical iconography, some foreign elements might have crept in for various reasons. The Greek influence on Indian iconography is clearly a later development. Moreover, the reasons should also be discovered as to why the Puranic *Āryan*s sought to learn from others, the art of making an icon which is nothing but a material presentation of a mental image, while the *Āryan*s have had a long history of image-culture. And, why is it not the vice-versa ? There are strong reasons to believe that Indians had the knowledge of iconography much before they came in contact with the outer world, which decidedly commenced after Buddha. The findings of icons, seals and painted vessels belonging to the Harappan or the Pre-Harappan Cultures do not merely suggest that India knew this art in c. 3000 B.C., but it also implies a long practice behind this art.[30] India has, indeed, achieved mastery in sculpture,[31] painting[32] and making of

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29 For a detailed account of the Vedic mythological developments Cp. Macdonell A, A. : *The Vedic Mythology*, Varanasi, 1971.

30 Bhattacharya A. K. : ' Indian Sculpture—A Historical Survey ', *Bhavan's Journal*, Bombay, XIV, No. 1, 1967, pp. 161-71.

31 Cp. Mukhopadhyay M. M. : ' Indian Sculptures through Ages ', *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission of Calcutta*, Calcutta, XVII, No. 3 1966, pp. 83-89.

32 Cp. Pandey, S. K. : ' Pre-historicity of Indian Rock-Paintings ', *Prācya Pratibhā*, Bhopal, III, No. 2, 1975, pp. 34-44; Kathapal, Y. : ' Rock-Paintings of India : ' An Orinthographical Interpretation ', *Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona, XXV, Nos. 3-4, 1976, pp. 83-93; Mathapal, Y. : ' Rock-Art of India ', *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, LIV, pt. 3, 1976, pp. 477-84.

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terracotta models.[33] Like other factors of the modern Hindu society,[34] Hindu iconography also has been derived from the Ṛgvedic personification of the *Devas*.[35]

12. *Conclusion* :

On the basis of the above discussion, we are led to conclude that the older part of the *Saṃhitā* literature mythologically describes two types of deities *viz.*, personal (*sākāra*) and impersonal (*nirākāra*). Both these types of concepts start splitting from each other in later parts of these *Saṃhitās*, though this distinction appears more and more vivid in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature, where they are almost treated as two different branches of the Vedic culture. The cult of impersonal nature of worship grows separately in the *Āraṇyaka*s in the shape of *jñāna-kāṇḍa* ('the branch of knowledge') which ultimately culminated in the *Upaniṣad*s which, as such, are called *Vedānta* ('the end of knowledge').

The personal type of worship in the *Saṃhitā*s is primarily aimed at the mythological deification of personified nature. This trend also grows in *Brāhmaṇa* literature in the name of *karma-kāṇḍa* ('the branch of action') where a number of fresh developments occurred due to gradual introduction of various factors.[36] Here, the previously deified personifications of nature being thoroughly dressed in different mythological garments of various colours, begin to appear different from their basic sources. Here, the old pantheon is thoroughly reviewed and because of its splitting into two groups, a new pantheon came up.

In the Epics and the *Purāṇa*s, this new pantheon has been given an outward expression chiefly in accordance with the Brahmanical mythology, by means of clay, wood, stone, metal etc. which are popularly known as icons (*vigraha*) the

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33 Cp. Sharma, I. K. & Singh, B. P. : 'Terracotta Art of Proto-historic India', *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, XLV, pt. 3, 1967, pp. 773-98; Sankalia, H. D. & Dhavlikar, M. K. : 'The Terracotta Art of India', *Mārga*, Bombay, XXIII, No. 1, 1969, pp. 33-54; Bhattacharya, S. K. : 'Terracotta Figurines in Indian Art', *Cultural Forum*, New Delhi, XIII, No. 2, 1971, pp. 37-42; Sahay. S. : 'Chronology of Indian Terracottas', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna, LXI, pts. 1-4, 1975, pp. 72-78.

34 Cp. Dange, S. A. : 'Cultural Sources from the Vedas', *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Bombay, XXXIV, Nos. 1-4, 1974, pp. 122-34.

35 Cp. Mishra, R. N. : 'The Grotesque Element in Indian Art', *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, LII, pts. 2-3, 1974, pp. 251-58.

36 Cp. Banarjee, Jitendra Nath : *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 71.

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material representation of a mental image (*mānasa-bimba*).[37] Therefore, this can be rightly assumed that the Brahmanic iconography (*mūrtikalā*), along with the iconolatry (*mūrtipūjā*), has its roots in the *Ṛgveda* and, therefore is basically indigenous, though, afterwards, some foreign elements have found their way through mutual contacts.

37 Cp. Agrawala, V. S. : 'Hindu Religion in the *Purāṇas*', *Purāṇa*, Varanasi, VII, No. 2, 1964, pp. 333-46; Mainkar, T. G. : 'The Vedic Gods and Later Sanskrit Literature', *University of Rajasthan Studies*, Jaipur, No. 6, 1973-74, pp. 67-71.

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THE PUNARABHIṢEKA—A PRECURSOR OF SAUTRĀMAṆĪ

By

MADHAVI KOLHATKAR*

The aim of the present paper is to study the nature of the rite *Punrabhiṣeka* described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (*Ait Br.*, 1.8.5 to 11) and to establish that it is a precursor of the later *Sautrāmaṇī.*

The Punarabhiṣka in the Ait Br.

The description of this rite occurs in a section dealing with the *Rājasūya* ritual, ((*Ait Br.* 7.13 to 8.23).

To begin with, it must be pointed out that there has been a difference of opinion as regards the *Punarabhiṣeka* in the *Ait. Br.* Thus, Bapatshastri[1] perhaps misled by the discussion at the end of the previous chapter (*Ait Br.* 8.4) says ; "In the previous chapter is discussed and described the *Agniṣṭomasaṁstha Jyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice to be performed by a Kṣatriya king. Now follows the description of anointing the Kṣatriya sacrificer after the completion of the sacrifiee.... " (English translation is mine. The Original is in *Marāṭhī*).

As a matter of fact, the discussion at the end of *Ait Br.* 8.4 pertains to the *Rājasūya* itself. What is discussed therein is whether the *Rājasūya* is *Ukthya-saṁstha* or *Agniṣṭomasaṁstha.*

Sāyaṇa in his commentary says, that after the completion of the sacrifice, the Kṣatriya needs anointment and so this rite of *Punarabhiṣeka* is described. It is called *Punarabhiṣeka* as the king is already anointed before.[2]

Thomas[3] has rightly pointed out that, "The name *Punarabhiṣeka* implies that the person was an already crowned king. (He seems to convey that the king has already performed a *Rājasūya*) and the object of the rite was probably to reinforce his vigour as such.

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1 Bapat, Śrautācārya Dhundiraja Dixit : *Ṛgvedāce Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, (Marathi tr. of the *Ait.Br.*,) Part II, p. 398.

2 Sāyaṇa on *AitBr.* 8.5, *Atha kratusamāpty anantaram yaḥ kṣatriyo 'bhiṣekam arhati ataḥ kāranāt punarabhiṣekasyaiva vidhir ucyat iti śeṣaḥ / rajñaḥ pūrvamabhiṣiktatvād ayam punarabhiṣeko bhavati / —AitBr.* with Sāyaṇa's commentary—Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Granthāvali-32, 1896, p. 905.

3 Thomas, F. W. : Article ' Abhiṣeka ', *ERE*, Vol. 1, pp. 20-24.

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Hoens[4] is also of the same opinion and says that this anointing takes place after finishing the *Rājasūya*.

Curiously enough, the scholars, who have dealt with the *Rājasūya* have not except Weber[5] taken into consideration the ritual of the *Rājasūya* described in the *Ait Br*.

The pracedure of the rite Punarabhiṣeka :

It becomes necessary to understand the nature of this *Punarabhiṣeka* in the *AitBr*. and therefore, let us see, in brief, the rite of *Punarabhiṣeka* as described in the *AitBr*.

The Kṣatriya sacrificer is reanointed after he has taken the concluding bath, and has performed the *Anūbandhyā-homa*, and the *Udavasānīyā Iṣṭi* (of the *Rājasūya*).

The paraphernalia of the ceremony is kept ready—a seat of *Udumbara wood*, a branch of *Udumbara* tree, eight substances collected in a pot (this also made of *Udumbara wood*). The eight substances are—curds, honey, clarified butter, rainwaters fallen in sunshine, young sprouts of grass and green barley, *Surā* (spirituous liquor) and *Dūrvā* grass.

The seat is placed near the alter. (8.5)

The tiger-skin is spread upon it. The sacrificer sits upon it. The priest then propitiates the waters. (8.6). He holds the *Udumbara* branch upon the sacrificer's head and anoints him with three *Ṛk*-verses and one *yajus* formula. Some prescribe the *Vyāhṛtis* also to be recited at the time of this anointment.[6] After that the priest gives an oblation of clarified butter as an *aṅga* of this anointment. (8.7)

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4 Hoens, D. J : *Śānti—A Contribution to Ancient Indian Religious Terminology*, S. Gravehage, 1951, p. 145.

5 Weber, A. : *Über die Königsweihe, den Rājasūya*, Berlin, 1893.

It is known from the references given in the foot-notes by Keith, in the Tr. of the *ṚV Brāhmaṇas*, p. 50 and p. 322 that Weber has discussed the same in his book. However, the book was not available to me.

6 Dr. Jayaswal, K. P. : In *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 40 says—" According to the opinion of one school if the coronation was desired for the life-time of the king-elect only the first syllable of the *Vyāhṛti bhūḥ* was to be pronounced, if it was for two generations etc. . . . . " The original passage of the *AitBr*. 8.7 reads—*bhūr iti yam icched imam eva prati annam adyāt iti* . . There is no reference to coronation here, it refers to Food. Sāyaṇa paraphrases it as if health is desired *annam adyāti nīrogo bhavet* . .

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Then the priest gives to the sacrificer a bowl of *Surā* to drink. The remants of the drink are given by the sacrificer to a person whom he thinks to be generous (8.8).

The sacrificer then descends from the seat, puts a fire-stick into the fire and takes three steps in the north-east direction paying homage to that direction with the mantra ' *kiptir asi* .... etc. (8.9 .

Then follows the description of a chariot drive (8.10).

The sacrificer then goes back to the house reciting the *mantra*, ' *apa prāca Indra* .. ' Having gone to the house, he sits down behind the household fire and holds on to the priest who at the end offers three butter[7] libations, to Indra, in four portions, with the bowl, for freedom from distress, injury, loss and danger.

The priest then pronounces a prayer for progeny, oxen, horses and men (8.11).

The nuture of this rite :

According to the *AitBr.*, the king is given the *Surā* drink at the end of the *Rājasūya* also and the verses used while doing so in both the rites are the same. It becomes necessary, therefore, to note the difference in these two.

In the *Rājasūya*, the sacrificer is given the *Surā*-drink as it secures for him peace and comfort throughout his life. *Surā* is described here as nourishing and pleasant just like any other food or *Soma* etc. (8.20).

But the function of *Surā* together with the other substances used in the *Punarabhiṣeka*, is altogether different. The author of the *AitBr.* tells that *Udumbara* is food; the curds, honey and clarified butter are the essence of medicines; the rain-waters are brightness and splendour; the sprouts of grass are nourishment and progeny; and the *Surā* is the *Kṣatra* and the essence of food. The *Dūrvā* grass also is *Kṣatra* and firmness (*pratiṣṭhā*) and essence of medicines. All these things have gone away from the Kṣatriya sacrificer and to place them in him again, this rite is performed with all these things. (8.8)

The purpose of the oblation of the clarified butter is also the same (8.7).

The purpose of the rite is mentioned at the beginning of the chapter also. (8.5). There it is said, *sūyate ha vā asya kṣatraṁ yo dīkṣate kṣatriyaḥ san .... atʰam enam punar abhiṣiñcanti iti.*

The first sentence is translated in various ways.

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7 Thomas, F. W. : *Op. cit.* erroneously mentions that the priest offers in a certain order oblations from the *Surā*-cup. The text explicitely says as ' *ājyāhutiḥ* '.

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Keith[8] has translated it as, " His lordly power is cansecrated, who being a Kṣatriya consecrates himself. " He has translated the word '*sūyate*' as consecrated '. Haug[9] has translated the same sentence as, " ..... of the kṣatriya who is inaugerated as a sacrificer, and whose kṣattram is in (such a way) new born, " He has taken the word '*sūyate*' to mean ' to be new born '. Thomas[10] has translated it as, " His royal power is quickened by it. " But none of these meanings is satisfactory and seems to be relevant to the latter passage— *etāni ha 'vai kṣatriyād ījānāt vyutkrāntāni bhavanti brahmakṣatre..... etc.*

Sāyaṇa has paraphrased the word '*sūyate*' as '*pravartate asmāt*'. The root *vṛt* with *pra*, in the light of the later passage, can be taken to mean 'to depart' (*Monier Williams* has recorded this meaning.) in this particular context. Now the translation of this sentence will be, ' the kṣatra departs from him, who consecrates himself, even being a kṣatriya '. This translation is consistent with the later passage.

It is evident from the discussion above, that in the *AitBr.* the *Punarabhiṣeka* is described as a curing rite to be performed after the *Rājasūya.*

Development of this rite :

Weber[11] holds that the *Rājasūya* was originally a simpler popular institution which subsequently found admission, with many elaborations into the *Śrauta* ritual and Hillebrandt[12] is in agreement with him.

Same view is expressed by Heesterman,[13] " The *Rājasūya* is one of those *Śrauta* sacrifices in which the royal rites and cults, probably of diverse origin, were preserved .. ... Thus there will (? would) have existed also other rites (notably unction ceremony *abhiṣeka*) of varying forms in the *Abhiṣekas* described in the *Aitareya Brahmaṇa* .... "

The *Punarabhiṣeka* also seems to be some such popular practice accepted in the *Śrauta* ritual of the *AitBr.* with some changes, and later elaborated in other Vedic texts as the *Sautrāmaṇī.*

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8 Keith, A. B. : *Op. cit.*, Harvard Oriental Series, Lanman. Vol. 25, p. 322.

9 Haug, Martin : *Aitareya Brāhmaṇam*, Sacred books of the Hindus reprinted and published, Allahabad, 1922, p. 345.

10 Thomas, F. W. : *Op. cit.*

11 Weber, A. : *Op. cit.* pp. 1-6.

12 Hillebrand, A. : *Vedische Op fer and Zauber Strassburg*, 1897, pp. 141-144.

13 Heesterman, J. C. : *Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, 'S-Gravehege, 1957, Intr. p. 3 ff.

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It can be guessed that the main purpose of this popular practice was to re-establish the strength and sense-power lost by excessive *Soma*-drinking. (In other Vedic texts *Sautrāmaṇī* is prescribed also for those who are suffering from excessive *soma* drinking.) This purpose was achieved by means of *Surā.*

This medical or magico-medical quality of *Surā* was observed by the Vedic ritualists and therefore, this practice was accepted in the *Śrauta* ritual, with a view to re-establishing the vigour, Kṣatra etc. gone away from the kṣatriya sacrificer. It is found in the rudimentary stage in the *Ait Br.* but it is further elevated and elaborated in the other Vedic texts.

The Punarabhiṣeka and the Sautrāmaṇī :

While dealing with the *mantras* in the *Ait.Br.* 8.8.10-11 *svādiṣṭhayā madiṣṭhaya* and *nānā hi vām devahitam*, Hoens [14] has said that, in the *Sautrāmaṇī surā* is propitiated by these verses. Gonda [15] also has expressed the same view. While discussing the same verses he observes, " Dealing, in the end of a section on the *Rājasūya*, with the *Sautrāmaṇī* the author of the *AitBr.* 8.8 states, *inter alia* : .. "

Both of them are discussing the *mantras* used in the rite *Punarabhiṣeka* of the *Ait Br.* It seems that they have identified this rite with the *Sautrāmaṇī.* But in the *Sautrāmaṇī* together with animal-offerings, offerings of *Surā* are also given to Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra. There are no such offerings in the *Punarabhiṣeka* except those of clarified butter. If the *mantras* used in this *surā*-ritual of the *Punarabhiṣeka* are to be considered as the basis of this identification, we find the same *mantras* used for the *Surā* ritual also in the *Rājasuya* of the *Ait Br.* It is difficult therefore, to agree with Gonda and Hoens who appear to identify this *Punarabhiṣeka* with the *Sautrāmaṇī.*

Still there are some striking similarities between these two :

1. The *Sautrāmaṇī* also is performed after the *Rajasūya* and as a curing rite. This in *Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā* xii.10 it is said, *tam yājayatām etayā sautrāmaṇyā sa yair eva tad vīyryair vyārdhyat tany asmin āptvā ādhattām.. eṣā eva rājasūye 'pi bhavati vīryeṇa vā eṣa vyṛdhyate yo rājasūyena abhiṣicyate.*

In *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā* also it is stated, (*etayā sautrāmaṇyā*) *rājasūyena abhiṣiṣicānam yājayeta indriyeṇa vā eṣa vīryeṇa vyṛdhyate yo rājasūyena abhiṣiñcate yāvadevendriyam vīryam tad asminn aptvā dadhāti.* MS 2.4.1.

While telling the importance of *Surā* MS 2.3.9 says— *eṣā surā bhavatt sa yaireva tad indriyair vīryair vyṛdhyate tany asminn āptvā dhatto.....*

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14 Hoens, J. C. : *Op. cit.* p. 146.

15 Gonda, J. : *The Mantras of the Agnyupasthāna* and *Sautrāmaṇī*, North Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1980, p. 93.

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In "*TaiS.* nothing about the nature of *Sautrāmaṇī* is explicitly stated, but the *mantras* to be used in it occur at the end of the *Rajasūya* section. Therefore, the *Sautrāmaṇi* appears to be a part of the *Rājasūya* rite.

2. The peculiar way of placing the seat is also important in this respect. In the *Punarabhiṣeka* the seat is placed near the altar in such a way that two of its legs are within the altar and the other two are outside it. In the *Sautrāmaṇī* (here the *Kaukilī*) also, the seat is placed in such a way that two of its legs are on the northern altar and the other two on the southern one.

3. In the texts other than the *Ait. Br.* the *Sautrāmaṇī* is the only rite in which the sacrificer is given the *Surā*-drink. In the *Rājasūya* of the *Ait. Br.* also *Surā* is drunk by the sacrificer but this is for some different purpose (as we have seen above). The consumption of *Surā* by the sacrificer is thus the most important similarity between the *Punarabhiṣeka* and the *Sautrāmaṇī*. Taking into consideration these similarities, one can say with certainty that the *Punarabhiṣeka* is the precursor of the *Sautrāmaṇī*.

While constructing an elaborate Vedic ritual around this popular practice of *Surā*-drinking, the other texts seem to have singled together the rites mentioned in the *Pumartha Mahābhiṣeka* and the *Punarabhiṣeka*, modified them and rearranged in the ritual of the *Rājasūya* and the *Sautrāmaṇī*.

Thus whereas the anointing is repeated in the *Ait. Br.* the second anointing is omitted from the later *Sautrāmaṇī* and only the *Surā* ritual is elaborated in it. The rite of taking three steps and the chariot drive which form a part of the *Punarabhiṣeka* are excluded in the *Sautrāmaṇī* and are included in the ritual of the *Rājasūya* in the other texts.

Just the same, the *Surā* drinking is excluded from the *Rājasūya* in the texts other than the *Ait. Br.* and is prescribed exclusively in the *Sautrāmaṇī*. Even the *mantra* '*yad atra riptam....*' which accompanies the *Surā* drinking in *Rājasūya* of the *Ait. Br.* is adopted in the *Sautrāmaṇī*.

Conclusions :

1. The *Punarabhiṣeka* is the precursor of the *Sautrāmaṇī* if cannot be identified with the latter.

2. The popular practice of *Surā*-drinking is accepted by the *Ait. Br.* and the rite *Punarabhiṣeka* is formed on that as its basis.

3. The rites of the *Rājasūya* and the *Punarabhiṣeka* are found rearranged in the *Rājasūya* and the *Sautrāmaṇī* of the other vedic texts.

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SOME GLEANINGS ON TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE FROM GARUḌA PURĀṆA

By

TAHSILDAR SINGH*

Similar to some other *Mahāpurāṇas*[1] *Garuḍa Purāṇa* too contains two chapters[2] dealing with architecture. One of them, namely chapter 47, is specifically devoted to the description of a number of varieties of temples (*prāsādas*) and their respective characteristics.

Sanskrit Terminology :

While describing the temple architecture of c. 8th-9th cent.[3] Garuḍa Purāṇa applies a sufficiently rich glossary of the architectural terms for the corresponding architecturally distinguished organs of *prāsāda* and *Vāstupuruṣa*. The list of these architectural terms followed by their most possible equivalent meanings can be arranged alphabetically as under :

bhadra	projection
bhitti	wall
candraśālā	a decorative arched niche
dvāra	doorway
dvārapāla	door guardian
garbha (gṛha)	sanctum of temple

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1 *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, khaṇḍa* III, chs. 86-88, Śrī Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, V.S. 1969/1912 A.D.; *Agni Purāṇa*, chs. 38, 41, 42, 43, 65 and 104, edited by Baladeva Upadhyaya, Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1966; *Matsya Purāṇa*, chs. 267-269, edited by Sri Jivanand Vidyasagar Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1876; and *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* (*Brāhma-parva*). ch. 130, Śrī Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1959.

2 *Garuḍa Purāṇa, Pūrvakhaṇḍ*, chs. 46-47. The edition used for references in this article is edited by Ram Shanker Bhattacharya and published by Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1964.

3 I incline, here, only to confine my study to the architectural material of *Garuḍa Purāṇa*. Therefore, it may seem undesirable to discuss its data of composition. However, it should be well cited here that after a sensitive and cautious perusal of the discussions of different authorities it (at least *Pūrva-khaṇḍa*) may be comfortably placed in c. 8th-9th cent. A.D.

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gavākṣa	a window resembling the cow's eye generally a latticed window
jagatī	platform
jaṅghā	wall, see *bhitti*
kaṇṭha	constriction below the finial of the superstructure
maṇḍapa	hall
mañjarī	small spire, generally elevated over a miniature shrine or halls
maṭha	monastery
mukhamaṇḍapa	entrance porch
nāṭyaśālā	theatre
ṇemi	periphery of the platform around sanctum, the open place for *pradakṣiṇā*
nirgama	projection see *bhadra*
pīṭha	pedestal of an image of deity in sanctum
pradakṣiṇā	circumambulatory (path) around sanctum
prāsāda	the edifice, the temple
śikhara	spire of temple; superstructure
śṛṅga	turret
śukāṅghri (kā)	antefix attached to the front facade of spire comprising a large *candraśālā;* also known as *śukanāsa,*[4]
śuṣiraka	perforated part like latticed window
ūrdhvakṣetra	platform, see *jagatī*
vedībandha	decorated and moulded basement

Sāmānya prāsādalakṣaṇa : Groundplan and Elevation :

The select plot to erect the temple (*prāsāda*) should be divided into sixty-four equal rectangular parts (*padas*).[5] Out of these the four central most *padas* should be used for the erection of sanctum (*garbha,* here described as *catuṣkoṇa* which literally means a quadrangle). The doorways (*dvāras*) should comprise twelve such *padas* and the remaining forty-eight *padas* should be engaged for the construction of walls (*bhittis*). The wall (*jaṅghā*) should be proportionate in length with the platform (*ūrdhvakṣetra*) and in height it should be double of the latter. The expansion or area (*vistāra*) of the antefix attached to the front facade of temple's spire showing a large arched niche (*śukāṅghri*) should be equal to that of sanctum (*garbhagṛha*). The projections (*nirgamas*) on either

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4 For *śukāṅghri Agni Purāṇa* uses *śukanāsa*—see chs. 104-10; and *Matsya Purāṇa* also describes this portion of superstructure as *śukanāsa,* 268, 12 and 18.

5 See also *Viṣṇudharmottara khaṇḍa* III, ch. 88, 1; and *Vṛhatsaṁhitā,* ch. 56, 10, edited by Achyutanand Jha Sharma, Chowkhamba Vidya Bhavan, Chowk, Varanasi, 1959.

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side should be one-third or one-fifth of the breadth of the *śukāṅghri* which is elevated upto half of the height of spire (*śikhara*). The *śikhara* should be divided into four parts and every part upto the third division, from bottom, should be elevated like the receding basement decorated with mouldings (*vedī-bandha*). The Fourth and the top most division should consist of the embellished crowning members (*kaṇṭha* and etc.).[6]

There is one more method for preparing the groundplan of the *prāsāda*. The chosen land should be levelled and divided into sixteen equal parts. The four central parts should be covered by the *garbhagṛha* and the walls should comprise the twelve parts. The height of wall should commensurate with the length of four of these parts. The height of *śikhara* should be double of that of wall. The width of the circumambulatory (*pradakṣiṇā*) should be one-fourth of the height of the *śikhara*. The projections (*nirgamas*) on the four sides should be one-fifth (in breadth) of the length of *garbhagṛha*. There should be also a frontal (entrance) porch (*mukhamaṇḍapa*) attached to the *garbhagṛha* commensurating with the dimensions of the latter.[7]

Some Specific Types :

After throwing a welcome light on general characteristics and on some useful instructions for the preparation of groundplan and elevation of temples, *Garuḍa Purāṇa* describes some specific types of temple, too, with their specified standards and scales for construction. With an abridged description they are enlisted hereinafter :

(i) *Liṅgamāna Prāsāda* :

As its very nomenclature suggests the *liṅga* or the image of the tutelary diety itself serves as the scale (*māna*) for the measurements of various limbs of the temples appertaining to this category. Here, the pedestal (*pīṭha*) should be equal to the main image (*liṅga*), established above it and enshrined in the divine edifice of this class. The *garbhagṛha* should be double of the height of the *liṅga* around the latter and keeping it on its pedestal in the centre. Thus the complete length of the *garbhagṛha* should be just double of the whole height of the *liṅga* (the pedestal + the image on it). The length of the wall (*bhitti*) should naturally commensurate with the width of the *garbhagṛha* and the height of that is double of the same. The height of *śikhara* is double of that of *jaṅghā*. The *śukāṅghrikā* or *śukāṅghri* should be proportionated with the dimensions of the space covered by the *garbhagṛha* and the *pīṭha*, inside, along with the *liṅga*. The *nirgamas* and the rest should be as has been directed already.

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6 " *Kaṇṭhamāmalasārakam* " is amenably suggested reading for " *Kaṇṭha-māmūlasādhanam*; *Matsya Purāṇa* describes this as " *Kaṇṭhaścāmalasārakaḥ* ", 268, 13; see also *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III, 86, 7.

7 See also *Agni Purāṇa* 42.1-7; and *Matsya Purāṇa* 268.6.

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There is a Śiva Temple, at Bhojpur in Distt. Raisen, Madhya Pradesh elevated only upto the walls. A gigantic *liṅga* is enshrined inside it. It seems to be a *Liṅgamāna Prāsāda* with an amazing consonance with the above-mentioned description.

(ii) *Dvāramāna Prāsāda* :

The second specific variety of temples takes its doorway as a scale for determining various dimensions of the sanctuary.[8] According to this arrangement the one-eighth of the height of doorway should measure four handbreadths[9] (*karāgra* i.e. '*bāliśta*' in Hindi). Thus, the height of doorway will be thirty-two handbreadths i.e. almost 16 feet because the *bāliśta* is generally equal to six inches which is occasionally stretched upto 8-9 inches also. The height of the doorway is double of its breadth or the breadth is half of the height. The doorway should be erected just in the centre and in front of the *pīṭha* (settled in the *garbhagṛha*). The rest of the wall (receiving the doorframe) should be perforated as to function like latticed window. On either side of the doorway the breadth of the *bhitti* should be half of the width of the doorway. The height of *jaṅghā* should be proportionated with the breadth of the doorway and that of the *śikhara* should be double of the former. The *nirgamas* and the *śukāṅghri* to be erected on the top of the wall basing the projections – should be erected in accordance with the previously propounded principles.

(iii) *Maṇḍapamāna Prāsāda* :

There is also a reference to a type of temples, christened as *maṇḍapamāna* in which the dimensions of different portions of the temple commensurate with that of hall (*maṇḍapa*). The details of such shrines, however, are not traced in the chapter under discussion.

(iv) *Kṣetramāna Prāsāda* :

In another type of temples the area occupied by the inmate presiding diety should be multiplied by twelve (*traivedaṁ*)[10] to get the area or the outline plan of the whole construction. The double of the *garbhagṛha* should be the measurement of the outline plan or periphery (*nemi*) i.e. the area of the *garbhagṛha* should be half of the whole area of the plot chosen for the establishment of the edifice. The *nemi* should be left around the *garbhagṛha* and the length of the

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8 See also *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 3.88, 5-6; and *Vṛhatsaṁhitā* 56, 12-16.

9 Here '*karāgra*' seems to be a handbreadth and the *vedavat* is a metaphorical suggestion for the number four.

10 '*Traivedaṁ*' is symbolising the number 12; *trai* = three and *vedam* = four, so 3 × 4 = 12.

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left part should be equal to the one-fourth of the length of the latter.[11] Thus the situation of the main temple will be in the central part of the *nemi* (the exterior most line of the platform). The height of the *jaṅghā* should be equal to the length of the *garbhagṛha*. The *śikhara* should measure double of the *jaṅghā*. The temples of Khajuraho show the arrangement of *nemi* as exterior *pradakṣinā* around the temple.

Classification :

According to *Garuḍa Purāṇa* there are five classes of *prāsādas* each comprising nine models and thus providing a considerably big number of 45 as varieties of temples in consequence of and corresponding to their measurements and different origins. A table consisting of these models may be presented as follows :

Name of class	Shape	Name of models
1. Vairāja	Caturasra (quadrangular)	Meru, Mandara, Vimāna, Bhadraka, Sarvatobhadra, Rucaka, Nandana, Nandivardhana and Śrīvatsa
2. Puṣpakākhya	āyata (rectangular)	Valabhī, Gṛharāja, Śālāgṛha, Mandira, Vimāna, Brahmamandira, Bhavana, Uttambha and Śivikāveśma.
3. Kailāsa	Vṛtta (circular)	Valaya, Dundubhi,[12] Padma, Mahāpadma, Mukuti, Uṣṇīṣī, Śaṅkha, Kalaśa and Guvāvṛkṣa.[13]
4. Mālikāvhya[14]	Vṛttāyata (apsidal)	Gaja, Vṛṣabha, Haṁsa, Garuḍa, Siṁha,[15] Bhūmukha,[16] Bhūdhara, Śrījaya and Pṛthividhara.

11 *Agni Purāṇa* (104.7) presents it like ' *Nemiḥ pādona vistīrṇā* ' and *Matsya Purāṇa* (268.22) says ' *Nemiḥ pāden vistīrṇā*. Here one thing is noticeable that *nemi* is the left part around the temple within the periphery of the platform so it also might have been a term used for the open circumambulation path.

12 *Agni Purāṇa* (104.17) names it ' *Vardhanī* '.

13 *Agni Purāṇa* (104.18) names it ' *Khavṛkṣa* '.

14 In *Agni Purāṇa* (104.11) it is called ' *Māṇika* .

15 *Ibid.* (104.19) it is called ' *Ṛkṣanāyaka* '.

16 *Ibid.*, (104.19) it is called ' *Bhūṣaṇa* '.

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Name of class	Shape	Name of models
5. Tripiṣṭapa [17]	aṣṭāsra (Octagonal)	Vajra, Cakra, Muṣṭika, Vabhru, Vakra, Svastikakhaṅga,[18] Gada, Śrīvṛkṣa and Vijaya or Śvetavijaya.

Besides these, there are separately mentioned some more varieties of temples e.g. *Trikoṇa* (triangular), *Padma* (lotus-shaped), *Ardhendu* (Cresent-shaped), *Catuṣkoṇa* (quadrilateral and *Dviraṣṭaka* (sixteen-sided). A consecrator of these temples is said to be bestowed perpetual grant of statuary powers (*rājya*), wealth (*Vaibhava*), longevity (*āyuvardhana*), sanction of sons (*putralābha*) and wives (*striyaḥ*) respectively. Another *Meru prāsāda* with hundred turrets (*śṛṅgas*), four *dvāras* and four *maṇḍapas* is conceded as sublime and best of all. The Udageśvara temple, Udaipur Vidisha, M.P. may be taken as example of *Meru-prāsāda* with an influential *śikhara*.

Other Paraphernalia :

There is a list of some additional paraphernalia to be arranged in a temple so that it may be a complete divine edifice and its consecrator may be granted with all merits. These are as under :

Dhvajā :—A banner to be flapped above the temple.

Maṇḍapa and Gavākṣa :

These both seem to had been optional portions of a temple. As the remnant monuments of the period indicate these were, most likely, not the inevitable organs of the temple. However, if the consecrator is willing there should be raised a hall (*maṇḍapa*) and latticed windows (*gavākṣas*) in front of and attached with the *garbhagṛha*. The length of the walls of *maṇḍapa* may be double, equal or even half of that of the *garbhagṛha*. There should be various types of projections (*bhadras*) in the walls of *maṇḍapa* commensurating with the latter's dimensions in number and shape and size. Most of the medieval temples consist of *maṇḍapa* and *gavākṣa* according to this tune of description.

Mañjarī :

There should be constructed a *mañjarī* (small spire), above the *maṇḍapa* embellished with high and low (*viṣama*) carvings (*citra*) relieved on it in accord-

17 *Ibid.*, (104.11) it is called '*Triviṣṭapa*'.

18 See *Agni Purāṇa* (104.21) where '*Svastikakhaṅga*' denotes one type of temple contrary to the idea of some scholars who favour its separation as '*svastika*' and '*khaṅga*' indicating two types.

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ance with the dimensions (*parimāṇa*) of its elevation. This approves the difference in the superstructures of main *garbhagṛha* and *maṇḍapa*.

Vāhana-Maṇḍapas :

Corresponding to the tutelary deity of the temple there should be constructed a small shrine (*Laghumaṇḍapa*) for the concerning mount or animal conveyance (*vāhana*). The recommended shapes are *caturasra* (quadrangular) and *āyata* (rectangular). These, too, should be adorned with *śikhara* and *candraśālās*. The Viśvanātha temple at Khajuraho and many other show *vāhana-maṇḍapas* named *Nandi-maṇḍapa* or *Garuḍa-maṇḍapa* etc.

Devatās and Dvārapālas :

On different facets of the temple the minor gods and different door-guardians (*dvārapālas* on doors) should be placed accordingly. This description proves the origin of *dvārapālas* and *dikpālas* before 8th cent. A.D.

Nāṭyaśālā and Maṭha :

Garuḍa Purāṇa also proposes the construction of a theatre (*nāṭyaśālā*) and monastery (*maṭha*) nearby the temple. This elaborate arrangement of temple-complex establishes the concept that the ancient temples had not only religious but socio-political significance. They were evolved as full-fledged centres of social, political, cultural and religious activities.

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ON AN OVERLOOKED PROBLEMATIC READING IN THE PRINTED TEXT OF THE VṚTTI PORTION OF VIŚVANĀTHA'S SĀHITYA-DARPAṆA

By

BISWANATH BHATTACHARYA*

In the context of the *pratiprasava* of some anitya doṣa-s in the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* Viśvanātha Kavi-rāja counts rasā-" di-sva-śabda-vācyatva, explains it and gives an appropriate illustration thereof as follows :—

kvacid uktau sva-śabdena na doṣo vyabhicāriṇaḥ /
anubhāva-vibhāvābhyāṁ racanā yatra nocitā //

yatrā ' nubhāva-vibhāva-mukhena pratipādāne viśada-pratītir nā ' sti, yatra ca vibhāvā-' nubhāva-kṛta-puṣṭi-rāhityam evā ' nuguṇaṁ tatra vyabhicāriṇaḥ sva-śabdenoktau na doṣaḥ / yathā....

autsukyena kṛta--*tvarā* sahabhuvā *vyāvartamānā hriyā*
tais tair bandhu-vadhū-janasya vacanair nītā " bhimukhyaṁ punaḥ/

dṛṣṭvā ' gre varam ātta- *sādhvasa-rasā* Gaurī nave saṁgame
saṁrohat-*pulakā* Hareṇa *hasatā* śliṣṭā śivāyā ' stu vaḥ //

atrautsukyasya tvarā-rūpā-' nubhāva-mukhena pratipādane saṁgame na Jhaṭiti pratītiḥ.... tvarāyā *bhayā-* ' *'dīnā'* pi [?] saṁbhavāt / hriyo ' nubhāvasya ca vyāvartamānatvasya (°mānasya..... sic) *kopā-' 'dinā'* pi [?] saṁbhavāt /

sādhvasa-hāsayos tu vibhāvā-' ' di-paripoṣasya prakṛta-rasa-pratikūla-prāyatvād ity *eṣāṁ* [?] sva-śabdā-' bhidhānam eva nyāyyam /[1]

The purport of this passage is that in some cases the mention by name of some unambiguous and suitable vyabhicāri-bhāva-s does not constitute kāvya-doṣa when the suggestion [racanā > sūcana = vyañjana] through the corresponding anubhāva-s and vibhāva-s only does not suffice to dispel the darkness of dubiety, and when the (naturally antagonistic) aprakṛta khaṇḍa-

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1 The Sāhitya-darpaṇa with the Commentary of Rāmacaraṇa Tarka-vāgīśa ed. ..... Durgāprasāda, Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay, 6th edn., 1936, 7/29 and Vṛtti, pp. 441-442 ; = ... with the Commentary of Jīvānanda Vidyā-sāgara ed. ..... Āśubodha Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa and Nitybodha Vidyā-ratna, Calcutta, 8th edn., 1934, pp. 623-624.

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rasa-s do not happen to be full-fledged enough to counteract the prakṛta rasa or khaṇḍa-rasa, and are thus indirectly helpful to the latter.

The given illustration is an anonymous citation from Harṣa's Ratnāvalī, where it occurs as the second maṅgalā-' ' caraṇa verse [1/2][2] constituting a part of the Nāndī or Raṅga-dvāra.

In his treatment of this topic Viśvanātha follows Rājānaka Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa[3] whose viewpoint he explains thus in the *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa* :—

ete (te ..... sic) samanantaroktā rasa-doṣāḥ [/] kvacid yatra vibhāvā [-] 'nubhāva-mukhena vacane vaiśadya-Pratītir nā 'sti / yatra [ca] vibhāvā [-] 'nubhāva-kṛta-puṣṭi-rāhityam evā ' nuguṇam (evārthaguṇam ..... sic) /

..... ayam āśayaḥ / ..... atra (antaḥ ..... sic) autsukyasya tvarā-rūpā- ' nubhāva-mukhena (autsukya-tvarā-° ..... sic) ..... [nā] jhaṭiti pratītiḥ / *roṣa-bhayā-* ' ' *dinā* ' pi (durāpābhayādināpi ..... sic) sambhavāt / kriyo [hriyo] ' nubhāvasya ca vyāvartanasya *kopā-* ' ' *dinā* ' pi saṁbhavaḥ /

sādhvasa-hāsayos (sādhvasa-sāhasayos ..... sic) tu stuti-bhāva-paripoṣaka-prakṛta-rasa-pratikūla-prāyatvam (stuti-bhāvādi-paripoṣasya prakṛti-rasa-°.... sic) ity *eṣāṁ*[4] sva-śabdā- ' bhidhānam eva nyāyyam (nyāyyaḥ ..... sic) /[5]

The similarity in matter, manner and wording of Viśvanātha's Sāhitya-darpaṇa and Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa is quite palpable.

Viśvanātha's son, Anantadāsa, interprets the Sāhitya-darpaṇa accordingly.[6]

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2 The Ratnāvalī Nāṭikā with the Commentary of Jīvānanda Vidyā-sāgara ed. ..... Āśubodha Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa and Nityabodha Vidyā-ratna, Calcutta, 4th edn., 1910, p. 2.

3 na doṣaḥ sva-padenoktāv api saṁcāriṇaḥ kvacit /
yathā ..... autsukyena ..... śivāyā ' stu vaḥ //
atrautsukya-śabda iva tad-anubhāvo na tathā-pratītikṛt / ata eva ..... utsukatvā- ' nubhāvasya sahasā-prasaraṇā- ' ' di-rūpasya tathā-pratipattikāritvā- ' bhāvād ..... //[The Kāvya-prakāśa with the Bālabodhinī of V. R. Jhalakikar ed. R. D. Karmarkar, 6th edn., Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1950, 7 (= Ullāsa-saṁkhyā) / 63^{cb} (= Kārikā- ' rdha-saṁkhyā = Sūtra 83) with the svopajña-Vṛtti and the illustrative verse (No. 330), pp. 445-446].

4 eṣāṁ [gatam] / ..... sic [?].

5 The Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa ed. Dr. G. Rama, 1st edn., Allahabad-2, 1979, p. 109.

6 bhayena tvarāṁ kṛtavatīti sambhrānti-sambhāvanatvād ity arthaḥ /
[The Sāhitya(-)darpaṇa of Kavi(-)rāja Viśvanātha Mahā-pātra with the Locana of Anantadāsa and the Vijña-priyā of Maheśvara Bhaṭṭācārya Tarkā-' laṅkāra edited with Notes by K. Kar, 1st edn., Lahore, 1938, p. 448]

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We might be permitted here to mention en passant that Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa has been followed by Hemacandra[7], Narendraprabha-sūri[8] and Śrīvatsalāñchana Bhaṭṭācārya[9].

Now, the Ratnāvalī verse in question is an example of preyas alaṅkāra, a case of guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya and madhyama-kāvya, in which under the kāvyāśrayaka Gaurī-Harā-' 'lambana-vibhāvaka rati-bhāva come the prakṛta sambhoga-śṛṅgāra khaṇḍa-rasa and the aprakṛta bhayānaka and the hāsya khaṇḍa-rasa-s.

In the prakṛta sambhoga-śṛṅgāra khaṇḍa-rasa both Gaurī and Hara are ālambana-vibhāva-s to each other while tvarā [= ālambana-vibhāvā-' bhimukhagamana (Gaurī's moying towards Hara)] and vyāvartamānatva [= parāvartana (Gaurī's moving away from Hara)] constitute the two problematic anubhāva-s qualified and controlled respectively by the two expressive vyabhicāri- bhāva-s, autsukya and hrī [= lajjā[10]], mentioned in the sentence. The two viśeṣya-s

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7 rasā-' 'deḥ sva-śabdoktiḥ *kvacit sañcārivarjaṁ* doṣaḥ //
..... sañcāriṇas tu kvacit sva-śabdā-' bhidhāne' pi na doṣaḥ /
..... *kvacit sañcārivarjam* iti vacanāt kvacin na doṣo yathā .....
autsukyena .... śivāyā ' stu vaḥ //
atrautsukya-śabda iva tad-anubhāvo na tathā pratītikṛt /.....
[The Kāvyā- 'nuśāsana with the Alaṁkāra(-)cūḍā(-)maṇi and Viveka, etc. edited by R. C. Parikh and V. M. Kulkarni, 2nd revised edn., Bombay, 1964, 3/1 and Vṛtti (including the illustrative verse no. 186), pp. 159-161]

8 rasā-' 'dīnāṁ sva-śabdoktir *vinā sañcāribhiḥ kvacit* /
.....*vinā sañcāribhiḥ kvacit* iti vacanāt kvacin na doṣaḥ / yathā .....
autsukyena .....śivāyā ' stu vaḥ //
atrautsukya-śabda iva tad-anubhāvo na tathā pratītikṛt /.....
[The Alaṅkāra-mahodadhi ed. L. B. Gandhi, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 95, Baroda, 1942, 5/18^{ab} and Vṛtti, (including the illustrative verse no. 476) pp. 177 and 179]

9 ihedānīṃ yathāsaṁbhavaṁ kvacid adoṣā eta ity āha .....
na doṣaḥ sva-padenoktāv api saṁcāriṇaḥ kvacit /
..... < autsukyena kṛta-tvarā sahabhuvā > ity-ādau ca tad-anubhāvasya sahasā prasaraṇa-rūpasya (prasāraṇa-° ..... sic) sva-śabdasyeva tasya jhaṭity apratyāyakatvāt // [The Kāvya-parikṣā with the svopajña-Vṛtti ed. Vaidya, P. L., Mithilā-Vidyā-pīṭha-Grantha-mālā, Prācīnā- ' 'cārya-granthā-' ' valī, No. 2, Mithilā-Vidyā-pīṭha, Darbhanga, 1956, 3/48^{ab} and Vṛtti, p. 64]

10 *autsukyonmāda-śaṅkāḥ* smṛti-mati sahitā vyādhi-satrāsa-*lajjā harṣā*-' sūyā-viṣādāḥ sadhṛti-capalatā glāni-cintā-vitarkāḥ //
[The Sāhitya-darpaṇa ed. ..... Durgāprasāda, *op.cit.*, 3/141^{cd}, p. 146]

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tvarā and vyāvartamānatva, cannot be claimed as exclusive [= itara-vilakṣaṇa = asādhāraṇa] to sambhoga-śṛṅgāra because they are rasāntara-sādhāraṇa and anaikāntika. To be elaborate, ālambana-vibhāvā-' bhimukha-gamana occurs also in vīra-rasa, vīra-khaṇḍa-rasa and raudra-khaṇḍa-rasa whereas ālambana-vibhāva-parāṅ-mukhatva is found in bhayānaka-khaṇḍa-rasa, bībhatsa-khaṇḍa-rasa and raudra-khaṇḍa-rasa as well. Understandably raudra-khaṇḍa-rasa is common to both. So for rasāntara-parisaṁkhyā or ativyāpti-vāraṇa, the two afore-said viśeṣya-s have been clarified respectively by the two unequivocal and appropriate viśeṣaṇa-s, autsukya and hrī.[11]

Again, the two aprakṛta khaṇḍa-rasa-s, bhayānaka and hāsya, are suggested through the two vyabhicāri-bhāva-s, sādhvasa-rasa[12] [= bhaya > śaṅkā] and hāsa[13] [> harṣa[14]]. These two khaṇḍa-rasa-s are not replenished respectively with the akṣi-nimīlanā-' ' di and āsya-vikāsā-' ' di anubhāva-s. The anubhāva-viśeṣa sāttvika-bhāva, pulaka [= romāñca], should rather go with the prakṛta sambhoga-śṛṅgāra khaṇḍa-rasa than with the aprakṛta bhayānaka khaṇḍa-rasa.

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11 nanu vyabhicāriṇāṁ vācyatve ['] pi katham āsvādas teṣāṁ [vācya-] sahatvā [-'] yogāt [?] atrā [' ']huḥ [.....] tvarā[-' ']der *bhayā*[-' '] *di*-sāmye (sic ?) ['] py autsukya-hetuka-tvarā[-' ']dau na *bhaya*-dhīḥ [.....] tac-chabdena bādhāt [,] *bhayā* [-' ']*di*-vyāvartakatvāc (sic ?) ca na vaiyarthya [m] [/]..... [sva-śabda-vācya-vyabhicāri-bhāva-] viśiṣṭasyaivā ['] nubhāva-tvam (°tvaṁ ..... sic) [/] ataḥ śabdād uktir iti [/] [The Kamalākarī of Mahā-mahopādhyāya Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa on the Kāvya-prakāśa ed. Pāpā Śāstrin, Varanasi, (Vikrama) Saṁvat (sara) 1923 (= 1866 A.D.), fol. 124^{ab}]

atra vadanti [.....] tvarā[-' ']der *bhayā*[-' '] *di*-sādhāraṇye (sic ?) [,] sva-kāraṇautsukyā [-' ']dinā viśiṣṭasyā ['] sādhāraṇyāt tad-vyañjitā eva-utsukyā [' ']daya āsvādāya [.....] na tu śabdamātra-bodhyāḥ [.....] vyabhicāry-ādīnāṁ vācyā[-']sahatvāt / ata evā[']tra na vaiyarthyam api [.....] viśeṣaṇatvenopa-yogāt [/] [The Kāvya-prakāśa-tilaka of Mahā-mahopādhyāya Jayarāma Nyāya-pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya (from a microfilm copy of the East India Company Library MS. dated in Vikrama Saṁvatsara 1854, i.e., 1797-98 A.D., obtained through the good offices of the India Office Library, London) on the Kāvya-prakāśa, fol. 179, obv. side]

[A critical edition of Jayarāma's Tilaka is being prepared by the present writer.]

12 Here the use of the rasa śabda is marred by rasā-" di-sva-śabda-vācyatva doṣa.

13 Hara's hāsa holds in check the aprakṛta bhayānaka khaṇḍa-rasa and as such encourages the prakṛta sambhoga-śṛṅgāra khaṇḍa-rasa as an uddīpana-vibhāva.

14 See f.-n. 2 supra for the citation from the Sāhitya-darpaṇa.

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Anyway, the two aprakṛta khaṇḍa-rasa-s cannot be regarded as full-fledged and as such this incomplete character, or want of replenishment [= puṣṭi-rāhitya], supports indirectly [paramparayā] the prakṛta sambhoga-śṛṅgāra khaṇḍa-rasa instead of challenging and spoiling the latter.[15]

Gaurī's psychological conflict has been thus depicted properly.

The whole matter boils down to the following three points :—

(1) Firstly, the two anubhāva-s, tvarā and vyāvartamānatva, refer to the ālambana-vibhāva, Hara, and cannot be taken absolutely.

(2) Secondly, the two afore-said anubhāva-s being rasāntara-sādhāraṇa have to be controlled unequivocally by the two corresponding vyabhicāribhāva-s, autsukya and hrī respectively, mentioned in the sentence.

(3) Thirdly, the necessitated sva-śabda-vācyatva of the above vyabhicāribhāva-s is also supported indirectly by the puṣṭi-rāhitya of the two aprakṛta khaṇḍa-rasa-s, bhayānaka and hāsya, which are represented by their corresponding vyabhicāri-bhāva-s, śaṅkā and harṣa respectively. There is no question of the sva-śabda-vācyatva of śaṅkā and harṣa as well.

Therefore, the point of the pratiprasava of the rasā- ' ' di-sva-śabda-vācyatva doṣa pertains only to the first two vyabhicāri-bhāva-s, autsukya and hrī, and not to the last two, śaṅkā and harṣa.

Moreover, the aśabda-vācyatva of śaṅkā and harṣa holds in check the two aprakṛta khaṇḍa-rasa-s, bhayānaka and hāsya, which are naturally antagonistic to the prakṛta sambhoga-śṛṅgāra khaṇḍa-rasa.[16]

In the light of the above discussion we now propose some corrections in the printed text of Viśvanātha's Sāhitya-darpaṇa as follows :—

.... tvarāyā *kopā-* ' ' *dinā* 'pi saṁbhavāt / .. *bhayā-* ' ' *dinā* 'pi saṁbhavāt /

---

15 yatrā ' nuhhāvānāṁ sādhāraṇatayā na nirṇāyakatvaṁ, yatrā ' nubhāvā-' ' di-kṛtaḥ paripoṣaḥ [ca] prakṛtā-' nanuguṇatvād anapekṣitas tatrety arthaḥ / .... *hāsa-sādhvasayor* vibhāvā-' nubhāva-mukhena paripoṣaḥ prakṛta-śṛṅgāra-rasa-pratikūla-prāya iti hy *aśabdā-'bhidhānam ucitam* eveti bodhyam / [The Kāvya-prakāśa-tilaka of Jayarāma, *op.cit.*]

16 eteṣāṁ ca rasānāṁ paraspara-virodham āha—
ādyaḥ karuṇa-bībhatsa-raudra-vīra-*bhayānakaiḥ* //
bhayānakena karuṇenā 'pi *hāsyo* virodhabhāk /
śṛṅgāra-vīra-raudrā- ' ' khya-*hāsya*-śāntair *bhayānakaḥ* /
ādyaḥ śṛṅgāraḥ /
.. tathā *hāsya*-raudra-bībhatsaiḥ *saṁbhogasya* /
[The Sāhitya-darpaṇa ed. Durgāprasāda, *op.cit.*, 3/254^{cd}, 255^{ab}, 257^{ab} and 7/31^{ab} along with the svopajña-Vṛtti, pp. 195-196 and 447]

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. . . prakṛta-rasa-pratikūla-prāyatvād ity *etayoḥ* [referring to autsukya and hrī] sva-śabdā-'bhidhānam eva nyāyyam /

The corresponding portion in the printed text of Viśvanātha's Kāvya-prakāśa-darpaṇa has also to be corrected similarly as follows :—

kopā-' ' dinā 'pi sambhavāt / ..... *roṣa-bhayā-' ' dinā* 'pi saṁbhavaḥ / ..... ity *etayoḥ* [referring to autsukya and hrī] sva-śabdā-' bhidhānam eva nyāyyam /

Similar [sapakṣa] instances of the pratiprasava of the rasā-' ' di-sva-śabda-vācyatva doṣa have been given by Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa[17] and Śrīvatsalāñchana Bhaṭṭācārya.[18])

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17 dūrād utsukam āgate vivalitaṁ saṁbhāṣiṇi sphāritaṁ
saṁśliṣyaty aruṇaṁ gṛhīta-vasane kiṁ cā 'ñcita-bhrū-latam /
māninyāś caraṇā-' ' nati-vyatikare bāṣpā-'mbu-pūrṇekṣaṇaṁ
cakṣur jātam aho prapañca-caturaṁ jātā-' ' gasi preyasi //

[= Amaru's Śataka ed. Kanbe, B., Pune, 1967, v. 47, p. 60].

ity-ādau ca yady api vibhāvānām anubhāvānām autsukya-vrīḍā-harṣa-kopā-'sūyā-prasādānāṁ ca vyabhicāriṇāṁ kevalānām atra sthitiḥ tathā 'py eteṣām asā-dhāraṇatvam ity anyatama-dvayā-' ' kṣepakatve sati nā 'naikāntikatvam iti //

ata eva < dūrād utsukam > ity-ādau vrīḍā-premā-' ' dy-anubhāvānāṁ vivalitatvā-' ' dinām ivotsukatvā-' nubhāvasya sahasā-prasaraṇā-' ' di-rūpasya tathā-pratipattikāritvā-' bhāvād utsukam iti kṛtam //

[The Kāvya-prakāśa ed. Karmarkar, *op. cit.*, 4/28 (= Sūtra 43) with the svopajña-Vṛtti and the illustrative verse (No. 29) to be read with the Vṛtti under $7/63^{ab}$ (= Sūtra 83). pp. 97-98 and 446].

< dūrād utsukam > ity-ādau ca śabda-mahimnā [autsukya-rūpa-vyabhi-cāri bhāva-] viśiṣṭasyaivā 'nubhāvasya kalpanam iti tato 'bhivyaktir iti [/]. [The Kāvya-prakāśa-tilaka of Jayarāma, *op. cit.*, fol. 179, obv. side].

18 yathā—
prātaḥ punaḥ syād udiyāc ca bhānuḥ
paśyema kodaṇḍam anātata-jyam /
ity *utsukas* tatra sa Rāmabhadro
nidrā-daridro rajanīm anaiṣīt //

atrotsuka-śabda iva tad-anubhāvo jhaṭiti na tathā pratītikṛd iti sva-śabde-nopādānam / yathā vā < dūrād *utsukam* āgate vivalitam (vigalitam sic) > ity-ādau / [The Kāvya-parīkṣā, *op. cit.*, $3/48^{ab}$ Vṛtti (including the illustrative verse no. 169), p. 64].

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But Viśvanātha's example of bhāva-saṁdhi, which depicts a similar psychological conflict of Pārvatī, is marred by rasā-' ' di-sva-śabdavācyatva [19]).

Śrī-Guru-caraṇa-samarpaṇam astu //

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19 janmāntarīṇa-ramaṇasyā 'ṅga-saṅga-*samutsukā* /
salajjā cā 'ntike sakhyāḥ pātu naḥ Pārvatī sadā //

atrautsukya-lajjayoś ca saṁdhir devatā-viṣaya-rati-bhāvasyā 'ṅgam /

[The Sāhitya-darpaṇa ed. ... Durgāprasāda, *op. cit.*, 10/96 ^{cd} Vṛtti p. 620].

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AN INSTITUTION DESIGNED TO CONTROL POTENTIAL ABUSES OF ORDEALS IN CLASSICAL HINDU LAW : THE ŚIRAḤ

By

RICHARD LARIVIERE*

In the designing of every legal remedy it is important that care be taken to avoid a design wherein frivolous litigation is encouraged, or wherein there is an unjust encumbrance of one party or another involved in a suit, or whereby it is too easy or too difficult to establish the guilt or innocence of someone accused of a crime. Drafters of modern legislation must be aware of these matters, and jurists interpreting such legislation are often called upon to correct or adapt the efforts of the legislators. This concern is not one which is restricted to modern jurisprudence. Indeed, we find clear evidence of such concern in the operation of an interesting institution in the classical Hindu legal texts. The institution is known by the Sanskrit term *śiras*, literally, "head". Its intention was to carefully control the use of ordeals as means of proof in a criminal trial or Lawsuit.

Ordeals in classical Hindu law were a well-developed institution. There were several varieties of ordeal (boiling oil, balance, poison, holy water, fire, drawing lots, etc.) the details of which needn't be treated here, but which have long been the subject of treatment by comparative jurists[1] Ordeals were strictly limited in their applicability In general, the Hindu legal texts restrict their use as a mode of proof to those cases where no "human" evidence (*mānuṣapramāṇa*) such as witnesses, documents, and the like are available. In such cases the judge was authorized to admit the "supernatural" evidence (*daivikapramāṇa*) of ordeals. It is easy to imagine that the use of ordeals in disputes where no human evidence was available could be particularly susceptible to a variety of abuses. Such things as harassment and intimidation of one party by another in the form of vindictive suits, suing in order to cast doubt on another's character or acquire some financial gain could easily become rife in a situation where one was freed of having to produce any substantial "human" evidence to prove one's case. This danger is heightened when one considers the threat of serious

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1 For a complete bibliography and a discussion of the ordeal in Hindu law see my edition of the *Divyatattva of Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya*, Manohar, Delhi, 1981.

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injury to the accused who may have to undergo one of the more painful ordeals. Inevitably, there had to have been those members of the society who were skeptical of the reliability of ordeals. That is, if one did not accept the basic premise of an ordeal — namely, that a deity when properly invoked and given the proper forum will show the truth of a matter — there would be even less restraint against the use of the courts as venues of personal vendetta.

It would seem, further, that the skeptic would be given an even freer hand to become a false accuser since the general rule for the administration of ordeals is that they must not be given to the plaintiff. Thus, the legal text *Kātyāyana-smṛti* (411) :[2]

न कश्चिदभियोक्तारं दिव्येषु विनियोजयेत् ।
अभियुक्ताय दातव्यं दिव्यं दिव्यविशारदैः ॥

No one should appoint the plaintiff to undergo ordeals, an ordeal should be given to the accused by experts in ordeals.

Under this arrangement even the accuser who *did* believe in the efficacy of ordeals might be tempted since he would not even run the risk of whatever personal danger might be involved in undergoing an ordeal. Not only did he stand a chance of ruining an enemy's reputation, but he could cause him to put his hand in a pot of boiling oil as well !

To prevent just these sorts of abuses, the writers of Hindu law created the institution of the *śiras*. This amounted to making the plaintiff or accuser agree to undergo whatever punishment the dispute entailed if the accused was proved innocent by an ordeal.[3] This institution was intended to exert control over the skeptics and over those who might be willing to take a chance that the gods may not intervene and render a just verdict. Thus, if the ordeal showed that the accused was innocent, the plaintiff would then be punished by the king or by the king's representative. The desired result would be that only a plaintiff who was truly convinced of the correctness of his plea would trust his case to a decision by supernatural evidence.

From the very moment that the *śiras* is first mentioned in the Hindu legal corpus—in *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 2.95 and 96[4] (ca. 100-300 A.D.)—there are exceptions mentioned :

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2 Kane, P. V., (Ed. & Tr.) *Kātyāyanasmṛti*, Poona, n.d.

3 The usual explanation for the use of the word *śiras*, "head", in this technical sense is that the plaintiff abides by the fourth part, the result, the "head" of a dispute—the declaration of the victory, defeat, and punishment; cf. *Divyatattva* 4.3, *ed. cit.*

4 Acarya, N. R. (Ed.) *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, Bombay : 1949. Translation:

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तुलाग्न्यापो विषं कोशो दिव्यानीह विशुद्धये ।
महाभियोगेष्वेतानि शीर्षकरथेऽभियोक्तरि ॥

The balance, fire, water, poison, and holy water, these are the ordeals for purification in this world. These are for serious accusations provided the accuser agrees to undergo punishment.

स्वच्छा वान्यतरः कुर्यादितरो वर्तयेच्छिरः ।
विनापि शीर्षकात्कुर्यान्नृपद्रोहेऽथ पातके ॥

Or, at his pleasure, he [the king or the chief judge] may make the one undergo the ordeal, and the other undertake the agreement to undergo punishment, and he may make them undergo an ordeal even without the agreement in cases of treason and sin.

Treason means a crime against the king. If the king brought the charge against the accused, one could hardly expect the king to be willing to endure the capital punishment which such a charge entailed if the accused was innocent. The suspension of the requirement of the *śiras* could be a benefit to both the accused and to the accuser in the case of accusations of treason and sin. If the king does not agree to undergo punishment it is still necessary to resolve the charge and the refusal of a king to undergo punishment should not deny the accused the right to clear his name by proving himself innocent by means of an ordeal.

A commentator on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, Vijñāneśvara, interprets the "sin" of 2.96 above to mean such things as the murder of a *Brāhmaṇa*, drinking liquor, stealing gold, or seducing one's teacher's wife or daughter.[5] The penalties for these very serious crimes in Hindu jurisprudence are severe. They range from branding and a fine[6] to being roasted alive.[7] Under the threat of this punishment, an accuser might be reluctant to make a formal charge and agree to the *śiras*, On the other hand, one suspected of such a crime, whether formally accused or not, would wish to remove the doubt from himself, and an accuser's reluctance to agree to undergo punishment should not deny the accused his vindication.

Gharpure, J. R. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* and the *Ṛju-Mitākṣara*, *Collection of Hindu Law Texts*, volume 2, Bombay : 1914.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Jha, Ganganatha *Manusmṛti* (9.235), *Bibliotheca Indica* 256, Calcutta : 1939. Translation : Bühler, George *The Laws of Manu, Sacred Books of the East* volume 25, Oxford : 1886.

7 *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 2.282, *ed. cit.*

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Another exception to the rule of no ordeal without the undertaking of one party to undergo punishment is found attributed to the Hindu sage Nārada in the *Divyatattva* 19 :[8]

राजभिः शङ्कितानां च निर्दिष्टानां च दस्युभिः ।
आत्मशुद्धिपराणां च देयं दिव्यं शिरो विना ॥

> For those who are suspected by kings, for those implicated by thieves, and for those intent on self-purification, an ordeal should be given even without an accuser agreeing to undergo punishment.

A later Sanskrit commentator, Apararka (12th century A.D.)[9], explains that " for those implicated by theives " means that theives, themselves, accuse someone by saying " He was involved with our thievery. " In this case, the thieves (or other criminals) would risk nothing since they have admitted their guilt, so the accused has the opportunity to clear himself by an ordeal even though his accusers might refuse to undergo the punishment. This is made explícit in a passage from the *Kālikāpurāna*[10] which also gives another case in which the *śiras* requirement is waived :

परदाराभिशापे च बहवो यत्र वादिनः ।
शिरोहीनं भवेद् दिव्यमात्मनः शुद्धिकारणात् ॥

> Also, in cases of adultery where there are multiple accusers there may be an ordeal without an agreement to undergo punishment, in order to acquit one's self.

This institution is attested in inscriptions in India from the 12th century.[11] It is mentioned by an early traveller in India in the ninth century A,D.[12] and by an early missionary in 1665.[13] There can be no question of its actual use in the administration of ordeals in classical Hindu law.

What does this particular institution tell us about the use of ordeals in Hindu jurisprudence ? It tells us that this mode of rendering judicial decisions,

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8 *Ed. cit.*

9 *Aparāditya* of Aparārka on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (2.96), Ānandāśarma Sanskrit Series volume 46, Poona : 1903-4.

10 Quoted at *Divyatattva* 7, *ed. cit.*

11 Fleet, J. F. " On Some Copper-plates found in Belgyum Collectorate ", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1867-1870) 2 7-249.

12 Renaudot, E. *Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Mohammedan Travellers*, London : 1733, page 30.

13 Sathianathaier, R. *Tamilaham in the 17th Century*, Madras : 1956, pages 184-186.

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which is so often considered primitive, crude and indicative of a lack of sophistication in a legal system[14] was cerefully controlled and regulated in the Hindu legal system. It shows that the writers of Hindu law were well aware of the potential for abuse inherent in the use of ordeals and designed an institution to prevent such abuses.

14 See for example, S. C. Mitra, " Fire Ordeals ", in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 24 (1933-34) pages 231-235; Rangaswami Aiyangar, K. V. *Brhaspatismrti* (Reconstructed), Baroda : 1941, pages 115-116.

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MINOR JAINA DEITIES

By

U. P. SHAH*

(Continued from Journal of Oriental Institute, Vol. 31, No. 4)

The Sixty-Four Indras.

" Who will buy my Indra ? " said the Vedic seer.[1] Probably he had with t an image or a symbolic representation of Indra which he wanted to sell for r ten coins. ' Indra is the Vedic hero, par excellence, weilding his terrific nderbolt.

In Buddhism, he is introduced as a devotee of Buddha to whom he pays a t in the Indraśīla cave.[2] This scene is represented on a fragmentary medallion m a Bharhut rail pillar.[3] When Buddha obtained enlightenment, Indra has- ed to him with a request to preach the gospel to the mortal world.

Indra or *Śakra* in Buddhism, is at the head of the Thirty-three devas dwell- in the Tāvstimśa heaven which is the top most of the three other heavens led Yama, Tuṣita and Parinimmita. This heaven abounded in rich palaces l gardens where the gods sported. Śakra had *Mātali* as his chariotreer and *ñcaśikha*, as his musician. His palaces were *Massakasāra* and *Vijayanta*, and *dhamma* was the assembly hall of the gods.[4] In Buddhist Jātakas, his character he rain god was still retained.[5]

Festivals in honour of Indra, Skanda, Rudra, Vaiśramaṇa, Yakṣas, Bhūtas other Brahmanical as well as other deities were popular in ancient India. Bhagavatī Sūtra,[6] the fifth Jaina Aṅga text, refers to the festivals in honour ndra, Skanda, Vāsudeva, Nāgas, Yakṣas and others. Again, the Ācārāṅga

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nal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec. '84 issue, pp. 41-60.

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1 *Ṛgveda*, IV. 24.10.

2 Rhy Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha*, pt. iii. pp. 299 ff.

3 *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, pl. II b.

4 For Suddhamma hall, see, Cunnigham. *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pls. XVI,

5 Mehta, Ratilal, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 322.

6 *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, 9.3; *Bhagavatī*, 3.1, refers to representations of Indra, da, Śiva, Vaiśramaṇa, Āryā and Koṭṭakiriyā (last two being Durgā and amarddinī), see also comm, of Abhayadeva, (Becardasa's ed,) in Vol, II, 7, 41,

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sūtra[7] refers to these festivals wherein people without distinction of sects gen took part. The Nāyādhammakahāo[8] refers to images and shrines of I Rudra, Skanda, Vāsudeva, Vais'ramaṇa, Nāga, Bhūta, Jakkha etc., whi Ācārāṅga[9] forbids a Jaina monk from partaking food from the above-menti festivals. According to Jaina sources, the festival of Indra (*Indramaha*) fal the full-moon day in the month of Aśvin.

Indramaha was prominent among all other festivals in ancient I According to a Jaina legend, Bharata first celebrated this festival. He wante see the whole form of Indra, beautiful and majestic. But Indra said to him for a mortal like Bharata the whole splendour and brilliance of Indra's would be unbearable. So he showed only his finger bedecked with ornam with which Bharata celebrated an eight-day festival in honour of Inc Indramaha is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata (I. 64. 33) and by Bhāsa.[1]

The Kauśika sūtra (140) describes the procedure of a festival in honou Indra for kings. The festival begins on the 8th day of the bright hal Bhādrapada or Aśvina in which a banner is raised on the Śravaṇa nakṣa Yājñavalkya[12], as also the Sthānāṅga sūtra also prescribes a holiday on Inc maha[13] According to Kṛtyaratnākara,[14] during Indramaha, worship is off to figures of Indra, his wife Śacī and of son Jayanta made from piece sugarcane stalks. Ādiparvan, (Mahābhārata) says that the festival was sta by Uparicara Vasu whom Indra persuaded to rule over the country called C Indra gave him a bamboo staff as gift which the king planted on earth in hon of the god and from which day the festival had its origin. The bamboo decked with baskets of sweets, fragrant objects and ornaments and garla suspended from it.[15] The raising of a bamboo staff on the first day of C every year in the Deccan is reminiscent of this festival as suggested by P. V. Kane.[16] But since the Indramaha was generally celebrated toward close of the monsoon as shown above, it is difficult to say whether the festi the month of Caitra was also a festival of Indra. The raising of the bar staff itself is copied from Indramaha or an allied popular festival. That

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7 *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 1.2.3. (SBE. Vol. xxii), pp. 92-93.
8 *Nāyādhammahahāo*, II, p. 49.
9 *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II. 1.2.3 (Jacobi-SBE), p. 92.
10 *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 184; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p, 213.
11 Pusalkar, A. D., *Bhāsa, a study*, ch. xix, p. 440 f.
12 *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, I. 147.
13 *Sthānāṅga*, I. 4.2, sū. 285, p. 213.
14 *Kṛtyaratnākara*, pp. 292-93.
15 *Mahābhārata*, I. 63. 1-19.
16 Kane, P. V., History of Dharmaśāstra, II.2. p. 824.

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ıa was popular in the Deccan is however known from other sources. The ·tha Cūrṇi states[17] that once Kālaga arrived in the city of Paiṭṭhāṇa where he received with great pomp by king Śalivahana. Since the fifth day of the ht half of Bhādrapada, declared by Kālakacarya as the day of Pajjoṣaṇā, on the Indramaha day the king of Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithaṇa) requested Kālaka change pajjuṣaṇa day to fourth especially because the whole city was to brate Indramaha on the pañcamī.

According to another reference in the Niśītha Cūrṇi, four great festivals, *ramaha*, *Khandamaha*, *Jakkhamaha* and *Bhūyamaha* were celebrated on the -moon days of Āṣāḍha, Asoya, Kattiya and Cetta respectively. In Lāḍa, ever, Indramaha was celebrated on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa.[18] Accord- to Rāmāyaṇa (IV. 16.36) it was celebrated on the full-moon day of Aśvin he country of Gauda.[19] The Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra,[20] describes a Indrayajña, be performed on the full-moon day of Proṣṭhapada (Bhādrapada).

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā[21] describes in detail the origin and procedure of the ramaha. Viṣṇu gave to Indra a flag-staff to drive away the asuras. Upari- a Vasu is here said to be the originator of the festival. When the bamboo the staff is brought into the city on the 8th of Bhādrapada, bright half, by king with a retinue of citizens, ministers and Brahmanas, the city is decorated ı flags and festival arches (toraṇas); on the 11th the trunk of the tree is ed and chiselled, placed on a yantra ; on the 12th it is raised up erect, five or en wooden figures called *Śakrakumārīs* are placed near it, and two smaller ffs (one $\frac{3}{4}$ and the other $\frac{1}{2}$ of the length of the principal staff) called Nanda Upananda are also raised by its side. Another staff is to be dedicated to ira's mother. The staff is decked with several ornaments and baskets hung n it, each above the other and smaller in size.

The *Indralaṭṭhi* (*Indra-yaṣṭi*) is also mentioned in the Nāyādhammakahāo he Bhagavatī.[22] The Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya refers to Indaṭṭhāṇa around which ·red the five hundred girls of high family from the town with offerings), flowers, and incense-burners (*dhuvakaḍucchaya*) in hands, praying Indra

17 *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, 10, p. 632 f.

18 *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, 19. p. 1174.

19 Also see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 135.

20 *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, II. 15; for details see, Kane, *History of the naśāstra*, II. 2. pp. 824 ff.

Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Chp, 43.

22 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, I. *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, 9.6. also see *Mahābhārata*, 0.12. For a description of Indramaha celebrated by Dummuha of Kampil- described in a comm. on Uttarādhyayana, see Jaina, J. C., *Life in ent India as Depicted in the Jaina Canons*, p. 216.

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for good luck.[23] According to the Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, the *Mahendradhvaja* round, made of vajra (diamond), polished[24] is adorned with five colou banners and is 1000 yojanas high[25]. Even upto this date in Śvetāmbara Ja processions in the pajjusaṇā festival, in front of the chariot of the Jina-image carried on wheels, a big ornamental flagstaff called *Indradhvaja*[26]

This festival of Indra was stopped by Kṛṣṇa. Enraged at this, Indra s torrents of rain on Gokula but Kṛṣṇa protected the people by lifting up Mount Govardhana and giving them shelter under it.

The Śilappaḍikāram, a Tamil classic of c. 2nd cent. A D., describes in chapter, the annual festival of Indra, celebrated in Kāverippumpaṭṭaṇam, ancient capital of the Coḷas. The festival began on the Pūrṇimā of the s month Vaiśākha and was continued for 28 days.[27]

In an inscription of the Parantaka Cola I from Tondamanarrur n Kalahasti, mention is made of the details of the arrangements made celebrating the festival of Indra.[28]

In all these descriptions from various sources, it will be seen that the Ve Warrior is being worshipped at the end of the monsoon, when the sky is getti clear of dark clouds, possibly reminiscent of his Vedic character of a storm god (Vṛtraghna etc.[29]), or the festival has become the festival of the peasants and people in general in celebration of good rainfall and crops. The *Indra-yaṣṭi*, originally possibly conceived as a staff of victory, is in these descriptions, nothing more than a symbol of plenty and prosperity and merriment, holding a promise of good days on account of good rains. The descriptions belong to an age when the original prominent post held by Indra was already lost and from a favourite of Vedic kings and priests in the sacrificial ritual he had degenerated into, and in another sense expanded into a god of the people.

Once fallen from his position, Indra's downfall knew no end. Even though both Buddhism and Jainism accepted the Brahmanical conception of Indra as the Lord of Gods, he was made to pay homage to and attend upon the

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23 *Bṛhat-kalpa-Bhāṣya*, IV. 5153; also *Antagaḍadasāo*, 6.

24 This ref. to *polished* Mahendradhvaja pillar is noteworthy. In the description of Śilāpata in the Aupapāṭika, Rājapraśṇīya etc. we find it described as shining like a mirror (highly polished, N.B.P.)

25 *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, section V, sū. 117, Vol. II, p. 401.

26 Also see for Indradhvaja, *Triṣaṣṭi.*, I (GOS.), p. 113 and note by Dr. H. Johnson.

27 *Śilappaḍikāram*, transl. by Dikshitar, V.R.R., canto V, pp. 53 ff.

28 Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II. 2. pp. 517-18.

29 Coomaraswamy, A. K., *HIIA.*, pp. 25-26.

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uddha and the Jina.[30] Later there came a stage in Buddhism when many mous Hindu gods were deliberately disrespected, and assigned a humiliating osition. Indra was one of the principal gods to be the target of attack. Indra olds a parasole over the head of Aparājita, along with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva e is designated by Tantric Buddhists as Māra or Evil one, and is ultimately rampled by Daśabhujasita-Mārīci, Paramāśva and Prasanna Tārā[31] !

Indra could maintain a more honoured place in Jainism. The Brahmanical onception of Indra as the lord of gods is extended in Jainism to all classes of ods with an Indra as the overlord, nay, there were two overlords for each class, ne Indra for the class living in the northern direction, another for those living n the Southern direction. Thus there are altogether sixty-four Indras described n Jaina texts. Indra besides has a special role to play in the life of every Tīrthaṅkara :

" *Śakra*, the chief and king of gods, the weilder of the thunderbolt, the destroyer of towns, the performer of a hundred sacrifices, the thousand-eyed one, Maghavan, the punisher of Daitya Pāka, the lord of the southern half of the earth, the lord of the thirty-two thousand celestial abodes, the bestrider of the elephant Airāvata the chief of the Suras,"[32] resides in the celestial abode of the Saudharam Avataṁsaka, situated in the Saudharma Kalpa.

It may be noted incidently that this description of Saudharmendra as Śakra, given by the Kalpa sūtra, shows that he is the Jaina counterpart of the Brahmanical Indra.

Sitting on a lion-throne in his council-hall called Saudharma Sabhā, Śakra once viewed the Jambūdvīpa with his clairvoyant knowledge and saw (according to Śvetāmbara belief) the venerable Mahāvīra taking the form of an embryo in the womb of Devānandā, a Brahmin lady of Kuṇḍagrāma. Standing up from his throne he offered prayers (Fig. 2) to the Lord and reflected that Arhats, Cakravartins, Baladevas and Vāsudevas, were never born in low, mean, poor or Brahmin families. He immediately ordered Hariṇegamesi, the commander of infantry, to transfer the embryo to the womb of Kṣatriya queen Triśala.[33]

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30 Cf. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 85, Buddha from Mathura, showing Vajrapāṇi as an attendant; fig. 255.

31 Bhattacarya, Benoytosh, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, (first edition). pp. 153-154, 99, 147 ff and 139. A similar example of the attitude of the Buddhists towards Hindu gods in Parṇaśavari and Aparājitā trampling on Gaṇeśa, *ibid.*, pp. 84, 153. Daśabhuja Marīci tramples on Indra, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, *ibid.*, p. 99.

32 *Pavitra-kalpa-sūtra* (text), sū. 13, p. 7; Transl. by Jacobi, *SBE*, XXII, p. 222.

33 The Digambaras do not accept this account of the Transfer of Embryo.

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According to both the sects, the throne of Indra (Śakra) shakes at the moment a Tīrthaṅkara is born. With the help of his clairvoyant knowledge he knows of the birth of the Master and leaving his lion throne, he moves forward seven or eight steps and with folded hands recites a hymn of praise of the Arhat. (Fig. 2) Next, he orders Naigameṣin to summon all the gods to attend the birth-bath ceremony—*Janma-kaiyāṇaka*- of the Lord. Vāsava (Indra) then instruct an ābhiyogic god named Pālaka (his chief architect) to " make a car that cannot be copied. " Accompanied by his eight chief queens and a host of other gods he mounts the aerial car which soon takes him to the Jina's birth-place. By some charm he puts the Lord's Mother to sleep, places an image of the Jina by her side and makes himself five fold. (According to Digambara writers, Indra's queen Śacī removes the Jina from his Mother's side and gives him to Indra).

As *Samkrandana*, he lifts the Lord, as *Śakra* he holds an umbrella over the Lord's head, his two more forms hold cāmaras on two sides, and in his fifth manifestation as *Sunāśīra*, Śakra runs in front like the chief door-keeper, carrying the thunderbolt and the staff. The Lord is then taken to the Mount Meru. With the master in his lap, the lord of the eastern quarter then sits on a lion-throne. Meanwhile sixty-three more Indras arrive from their respective heavens and they all perform a grand bathing ceremony of the Lord (Fig. 1). Indra here performs thirty-two types of dances. A representation of Indra dancing is rarely obtained in Jaina temples. (Fig. 5 from Vimala Vasahi, Abu). Two architrave panels in the Vimala Vasahi with four armed divinities represented dancing in a row would seem to represent the various Indras in this role. Unfortunately the number of dancing figures is much less than sixty-four and hence the identification is not certain. In the wall paintings of the Varddhamāna temple at Jina-Kāñcī, Saudharma is shown dancing with two hands folded and two more in unidentified poses.[34]

Then the Lord is brought back to his Mother's side and Indra orders his Jṛmbhaka gods to shower riches in the palace of the Jina's father.[35]

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34 *Tiruparuttikuṇram and its Temples*, fig. 37. A few Indras in procession for Janmābhiṣeka are illustrated in figs. 40-42.

35 *Kalpa-sūtra*, *SBE.*, XXII, pp. 245-252, does not give such details, but it forms the basis for later elaborations. The *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gāthā 458 and the *mūlabhāṣya* verses 62 ff. (Vṛtti of Haribhadra, pp. 178 ff) and the *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, II, section 5, 115 ff. pp. 395 ff. are the earliest accounts of this role of Indra. Also, *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, pp. 160-161. The role of Indra in the five kalyāṇakas of a Jina is only briefiy narrated here. For detailed study see Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭiśalāpuruṣacarita*, parva I and *Ādipurṇa of* Jinasena. Also *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, pp. 157, 78, 310-43, 344 ff, 34 ff.

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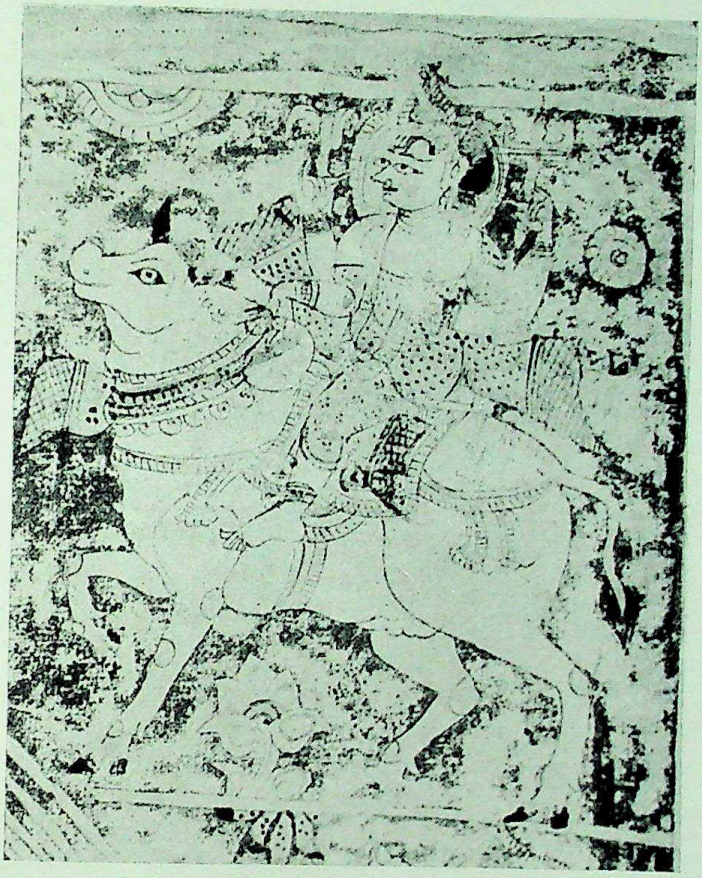

Figure 3
Iśāna-Indra from a Cloth Painting of Sūrimantra

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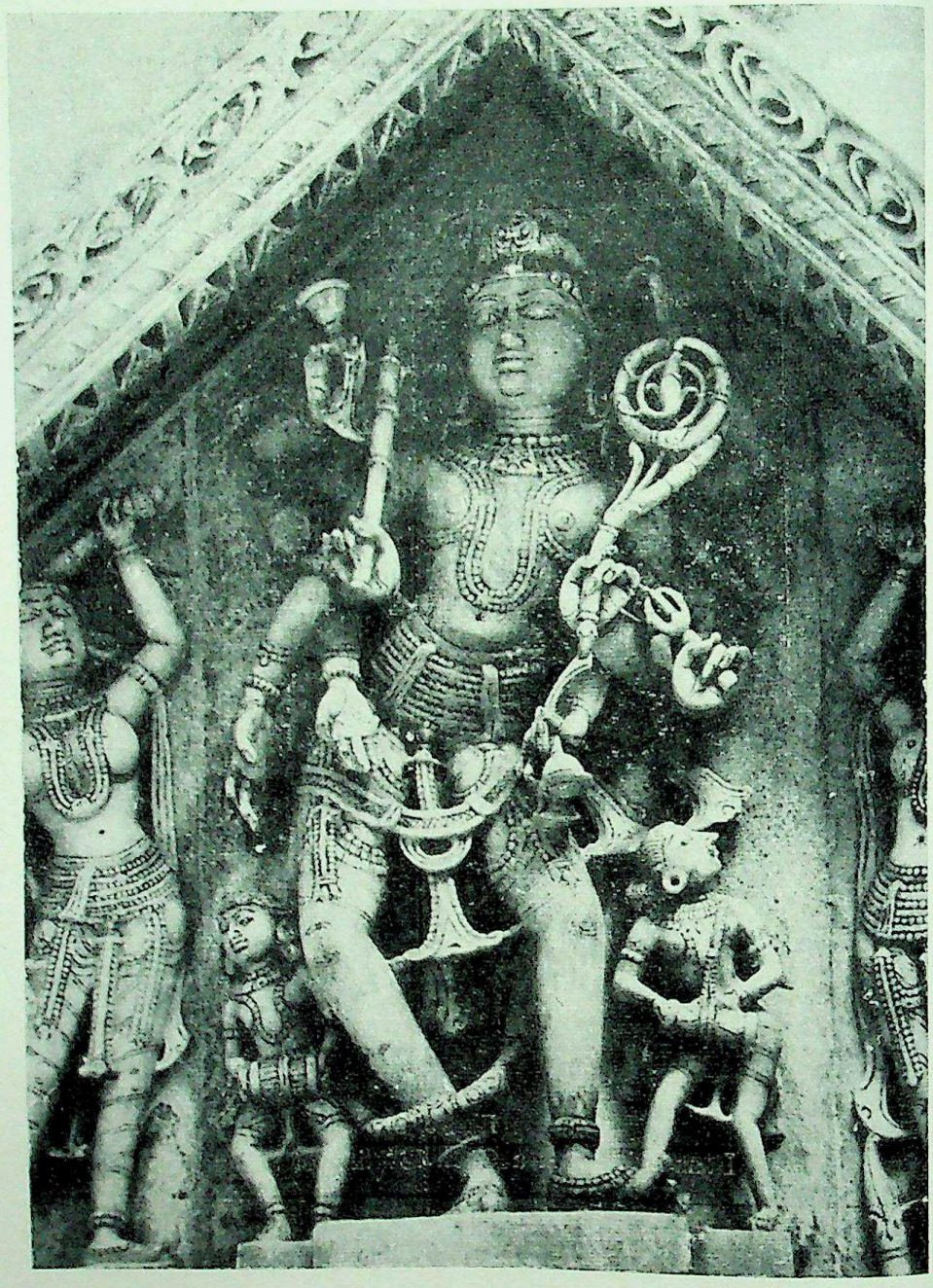

Figure 5
Indra Dancing—Sabhāmaṇḍapa of Vimala-vasahi, Mt. Abu

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When a Jina decides to renounce the world, Indra again comes with a retinue of gods and carries the Jina in a palanquin to a park outside the city-gates. Here the Jina plucks out his hair five times which Indra holds in a costly garment and then carrying them, throws them in the milk-ocean (kṣīrasāgara).

When a Jina obtains Kevala-jñāna, again Śakra and the host of gods arrive and at the various gods erect a big assembly (*Samavasaraṇa*) with a central dias for the Jina to deliver his Sermon.

After the Nirvāṇa of a Jina again the Indras and various gods arrive, the body of the Lord is laid on a sandal-wood pyre and cremated. Each of the Indras carries with him a tooth or a bone (*dāḍhā* of the Master which is placed in a diamond-box on the top of the round *māṇavaka* pillar for daily worship.

Indras are referred to in various Jaina Āgamas and Purāṇas, the Sthānāṅga sūtra classifies them as nāmendras, sthāpanendras and dravyendras in illustrating the Jaina method of studying an object as nāma, sthāpanā and dravya. Here sthāpanā refers to an image (or a symbol) of Indra.[36] The same text also gives a list of the sixty-four Indras.[37]

Indras have chief queens as well as goddesses attending upon the latter.[38] The paraphernelia of an Indra is elaborated with different types of attendant gods, classified according to the functions assigned to them, they are : aṅga-rakṣakas, sāmānikas, pārṣadyas, trāyastrimśas, lokapālas, anīkas, prakīrṇakas, ābhiyogikas, kilbiṣakas.[39] Indra has a chief architect who fashions for him a special heavenly car (*vimāna*) of an enormous size.

Amongst the Indras, Saudharmendra or Śakra (Fig. 4, 6) and Īśānendra (Fig. 3) are the most prominent and popular. The description of the former, as suggested above, creates before our mind's eye a picture of the Brahmanical Indra. With the thunderbolt shining in his hand, he destroyes millions of Asuras. His wife Śacī stands beside him. Like the Vedic Indra he is Sahasrākṣa, the destroyer of Pāka, Puloma, Namuci, Vṛtra, Jambhala and Adri.[40] Like the Brahmanical Śiva, Īśānandra is the destroyer of yajña. He is three-eyed, weilds the trident, and

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36 *Sthānāṅga*, Vol. I, 3.1. p. 102.

37 *Sthānāṅga sūtra*, I. 2.3 sū. 94, pp. 84-85.

38 *Sthānāṅga*, II. 8.3 sū. 612 mentions eight chief queens of Īśānendra, and eight of Śakra; *ibid.*, II. 6.3. sū. 508, pp. 508 f mentions chief queens of Dharaṇa; *ibid.*, II. 5.1. sū. 403, p. 302 mentions five chief queens of Camara and five of Bali. For all such names etc., see Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Indra*. Also see *Bhugavatī*, 3,1; 10.5; 13.6. References to Indras, their queens are numerous in Jaina Āgamas.

39 *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 4. sū. 6.

40 Hemacandra, *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 2.85-95.

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has the bull as his vāhana.[41] Of other Indras, Dharaṇendra, the snake-king deserves special notice as he is closely associated with the life history of Pārśvanātha and as such is very popular in Jaina paintings and sculptures.

Paintings of Śakra are very common in the miniature paintings of the Kalpa Sūtra. He is found seated on throne with court (Fig. 4).[42] Again, Śakra is seen paying his respects to the Jina's embryo, and commanding Hariṇegamesin to transfer Mahāvīra's embryo to the womb of Triśalā.[42a] He is also painted in the act of performing the ceremony of the Birth-Bath. (Brown, Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra, figs. 61, 90, 103, 119), or catching the hair plucked by the Master on the occasion of his iniation, (Brown, *op. cit.*, figs. 73, 74, 96, 111, 112).

A sculptural representation of Indra is preserved in the Vimala Vasahi (bhāva No. 15) at Mt. Abu. Indra is celebrating the Birth-Bath with the lord in his lap.[43] Indra is never worshipped as an independant deity in the Jaina temples.

The iconography of the various Indras, along with those of their chief queens is given below. Representations of most of these are not traced either in sculpture or paintings, excepting a few paintings in very late manuscripts of the Samgrahaṇī sūtra (Śvetāmbara), very crude and generally not confirming to any canon, and assignable to seventeenth, eighteenth or even nineteenth century A.D. These paintings need not be discussed here.

The following iconography is mainly based on Ācāra-Dinakara, which gives more details than any other text and with Digambara variations wherever obtained. Digambara texts like Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra and the Pratiṣṭhātilaka invoke these Indras, but do not supply iconography in all the dhyāna-ślokas.

Indras of the Bhavana-vāsī class[44]

I (a) *Camara* : (Śve.) Indra of Asurakumāras in the South.
Black complexion. Red garment.
Crown marked with a crest-jewel (*cūdāmaṇi*) in front.
Queens : Red garments. Black complexion, shining.

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41 *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, 3.1., *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 5. sū. 118.

42 Brown, W. Norman, *Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa Sūtra*, pl. 3. fig. 7.

42[a] Brown, W. Norman, *op. cit.*, pl. 4. figs. 11 and 12.

43 In all representations of the five Kalyāṇakas of a Jina, Śakra is invariably found.

44 *Ācāra-Dinakara*, pp. 164 ff. *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, pp. 61 ff. *Pratiṣṭhātilaka*, pp. 301 ff. Kirfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 263 ff.

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(Dig.) Indra of the same gods in the South.
Sitting on a triangle (Koṇa). Symbol in hand : mace (*mudgara*). Crown : crest-jewel in front.

(b) *Bali :*

(Śve.) Same as Camara.

(Dig.) Same as Camara.

II (a) *Dharaṇa :*

(Śve.) Indra of the Nāgakumāra class : South.
White complexion. Dark-blue garment.
Various weapons.
Crown : Three snake-hoods above.
Queens : Complexion, garments etc. like those of Dharaṇa.

(Dig.) Crown : Snake-hood.
Vāhana : Tortoise (Kaṃṭha).
Weapon : Noose (nāgapāśa).
Queen : Padmādevi.

(b) *Bhūtānanda :*

Indra of the *Nāgakumāras :* North.

(Śve.) Same as Dharaṇa.

(Dig.) Same as Dharaṇa.

III (a) *Veṇudeva :*

(Śve.) Indra of the *Suparṇakumāras :* South.
Golden complexion. White garments.
Weapons : Various or prominent.
Crown : Eagle in front.
Queens : Iconography same as Veṇudeva.

(Dig.) Weapon : Big Staff.
Crown : Eagle.
Vāhana : Elephant.

(b) *Veṇudārī :*

(Śve.) Indra of the *Suparṇakumāras* : North.
Same as Veṇudeva.

(Dig.) Same as Veṇudeva.

IV (a) *Haritsaha :*

(Śve.) Indra of the *Vidyutkumāras :* South.
Red complexion.
Green or dark-blue garment.
Crown : Vajra. (also his symbol ?).
Queens : Same as Haritsaha.

(Dig.) Vāhana : Boar.
Symbol : Staff of lightning.
Crown : Svastika in front.
Appearance : terrific.

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(b) *Harikānta :* (Śve.) Indra of the *Vidyutkumāras* : North.
Complexion : Red.
Dark-blue garment.
Crown : Vajra in front. (also weapon ?)
Queens : Same as above.

(Dig.) Same as Haritsaha.

V (a) *Agniśikha :* (Śve.) Indra of the *Agnikumāras* : South.
Reddish yellow complexion.
Dark-blue garment.
Crown or banner : Water-jar (*Kumbha*).
Queens : Same as above.

(Dig.) Crown or banner : *Kumbha.*
Weapon : *Ulkā* (fire-brand)
Flames issuing from crown.

(b) *Agnimāṇava :* (Śve.) Indra of the *Agnikumāras* : North.
Same as Agniśikha
Queens : Same as above.

(Dig.) Same as Agniśikha.

VI (a) *Pūrṇa or Puṇya* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Dvīpakumāras :* South.
Complexion : Coral.
Garment : *Nīla.*
Crown or banner : Lion in front.
Queens : Same as above.

(Dig.) Crown or banner : Elephant
Vāhana : Horse.
Weapon : Disc (?)

(b) *Vasiṣṭha* or *Viśiṣṭa* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Dvīpakumāras* : North.
Same as Puṇya.

(Dig.) Same as Puṇya.

VII (a) *Jalakānta :* (Śve.) Indra of the *Udadhikumāras* : South.
White complexion.
Blackish garment.
Crown or banner : Horse.
Queens : White colour.
Dark-blue garment.

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(Dig.) Vāhana : *Kari-Makara.*
Weapon : Staff.
Crown: *Makara.*

(b) *Jalaprabha* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Udadhikumāras* : North.
Same as Jalakānta.
(Dig.) Same as Jalakānta.

VIII (a) *Amitagati* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Dik-kumāras* : South.
Golden complexion.
White garment.
Crown or banner : White elephant.
Queens : Same as above.
(Dig.) Crown : Lion.
Weapon : *Parigha.*
Vāhana : *Dik-kuñjara.*

(b) *Amitavāhana* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Dik-kumāras* : North.
Same as Amitagati.
(Dig.) Same as Amitagati.

IX (a) *Velamba* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Vātakumāras* : South.
Crown or banner : *Makara.*
Complexion : Dark-blue.
Garment : Red, coral like.
Queens : Same as above.
(Dig.) Crown : Horse.
Vāhana : Horse.
Weapon : Tree.

(b) *Prabhañjana* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Vātakumāras* : North.
Same as Velamba.
(Dig.) Same as Velamba.

X (a) *Ghoṣa* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Stanitakumāras* : South.
Golden complexion.
White garment.
Crown or banner : *Śarāva* or *Vardhamānaka.*
Queens : Same as above.
(Dig.) Weapon : Sword.
Crown : *Vajra.*
Vāhana : Lion.

(b) *Mahāghoṣa* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Stanitakumāras* : North.
Same as Ghoṣa
(Dig.) Same as Ghoṣa

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Indras of the Vyantara-gods [45]

I (a) *Kāla* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Piśācas* : South.
Black complexion.
Yellow garment.
Crown or banner : *Kadamba* tree.
Queens : Same.
Caitya tree : *Kadamba* tree

(Dig.) Weapon : Staff.
Caitya tree : Kadamba.
Colour : Varieagated or black.

(b) *Mahākāla* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Piśācas* : North.
Same as Kāla.

(Dig.) Same as Kāla.

II (a) *Surūpa* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Bhūtas* : South.
Black complexion.
Yellow garments.
Crown or banner : *Śefālikā* flower.
Queens : Same iconography.
Caitya tree : *Tulasi* plant.

(Dig.) Vāhana : Horse.
Caitya tree : *Tulasi* plant.
Colour : Black.

(b) *Pratirūpa* : (Śve.) Indra of *Bhūtas* : North.
Same as Surūpa.

(Dig.) Same as Surūpa.

III (a) *Pūrṇabhadra* : (Śve.) Indra of the *Yakṣas* : South.
Black complexion.
Garment : Golden colour.
Caitya tree and symbol : *Vaṭa-tree.*
Queens : Same.

(Dig.) Vimāna of the shape of a Cobra.
Caitya tree : *Vaṭa* (Ficus Indica)
Colour : Golden.
Two *Nidhi*s.

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45 Kirfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 274 ff. complexions and Caitya-trees of the different classes of Vyantaras, given by the Digambara texts, Kirfel *op. cit.*, p. 273, are to be included in iconography of Indras. The Caitya trees are also given by Śvetāmbaras. *Lokaprakāśa*, sarga 12, vv. 207 ff. *Ācāra-Dinakara*, pp. 166 ff. *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, pp. 62 f.

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(b) *Māṇibhadra* : (Śve.) Indra of *Yakṣas* : North.
Same as Pūrṇabhadra.
(Dig.) Same as Pūrṇabhadra.

IV (a) *Bhīma* : (Śve.) Indra of *Rākṣasas* : South.
Colour : White.
Garments : *Nīla.*
Symbol : *Khaṭvāṅga* on crown.
Queens : Same.
(Dig.) Weapon : Spear.
Vāhana : Lion.
Colour : Golden.
Tree : *Badarī.*

(b) *Mahābhīma* : (Śve.) Indra of *Rākṣasas* : North.
Same as Bhīma.
(Dig.) Same as Bhīma.

V (a) *Kinnara* : (Śve) Indra of *Kinnaras* : South.
Colour : Dark-blue,
Garment : Yellow.
Tree : *Aśoka,* also Symbol on Crown or banner.
Queens : Same, but white garments.
(Dig.) Vāhana : *Aṣṭāpada* animal.
Weapon : *Nāgapāśa.*
Tree : Aśoka.
Colour : Dark-blue.

(b) *Kiṁpuruṣa* : (Śve.) Indra of *Kinnaras* : North.
Sam as Kinnara.
(Dig.) Same as Kinnara,

VI (a) *Satpuruṣa* : (Śve.) Indra of *Kiṁpuruṣas* : South.
Colour : White.
Garment : Nīla.
Tree or Symbol : *Campaka.*
Queens : Same.
(Dig.) Colour : White.
Tree : *Campaka.*
Weapon : Bow.

(b) *Mahāpuruṣa* : (Śve.) Indra of *Kiṁpuruṣas* : North.
Same as Satpuruṣa.
(Dig.) Same as Satpuruṣa.

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VII (a) *Atikāya* : (Śve.) Indra of *Mahoragas* : South.
Colour : Black.
Garment : Red or Yellowish.
Tree or Symbol ; *Nāga*-tree.
Queens : Same.

(Dig.) Colour : Black.
Tree : *Nāga*-tree.
Weapon : Staff.
Vāhana : Lion.

(b) *Mahākāya* ; (Śve.) Indra of *Mahoragas* : North.
Same as Atikāya.

(Dig.) Same as Mahākāya.

VIII (a) *Gītarati* : (Śve.) Indra of *Gandharvas* : South.
Colour : Black.
Garment : Reddish.
Symbol or tree : Tumbaru tree.
Queens : Same as above.
Carrying Vīṇā in hands.

(Dig.) Colour : Golden.
Tree or Symbol on Crown : *Tumbaru*.
Vāhana : Swan.
Symbol in hand : Musical instrument (?)

(b) *Gitayaśas* : (Śve.) Indra of *Gandharvas* : North.
Same as Gītarati.

(Dig.) Same as Gītarati.

Indras of Vāṇa-Vyantara gods (Śve.).

According to Śvetāmbara traditions the *Vāṇamantara* or *Vāṇavyantara* gods—a subdivision of Vyantaras—are divided into eight classes : Aṇapanni, Paṇapanni, Ṛṣivādi, Bhūtavādi, Krandita, Mahākrandita, Kuṣmāṇḍa and Pataga.[46] According to Digambara texts Trailokyadīpikā and Trailokyasāra, there are twelve classes : Akṣotpādaka, Prītimkara, Bhujaga, Mahāgandha, Gandha, Pramāṇaka, Anutpanna, Utpanna, Kuṣmāṇḍa, Autaravāsin, Digvāsin, Nityotpādaka.[47] Digambara works do not invoke Indras from any of these groups. Below is given their iconography according to Śvetāmbara text Ācāra-dinakara.

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46 *Lokaprakāśa* (Kṣetra-Loka) 12. vv. 249 ff. pp. 41 ff; *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, v. 1131, Vol. II. p. 332.

47 Kirfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 278 ff.

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I (a) *Sannihita :* Indra of *Aṇapannis* : South.
White complexion. Dark-blue garments.
Symbol-crowa or banner : Eagle.
Queens : as above.

(b) *Sanmāna* or *Sāmanna* Indra of *Aṇapannis* : North.
Same as Sannihita.

II (a) *Dhātā :* Indra of *Paṇapannis* : South.
Complexion : Golden.
Garments : Greenish or Blue.
Symbol-banner : Monkey.
Fruit in hand.
Queens : Same as above.

(b) *Vidhātā* : Indra of *Paṇapannis* : North.
Same as Dhātā.

III (a) *Ṛṣi* : Indra of *Ṛṣivādī* (Isivāī) : South.
Colour : White. Garment : Red.
Symbol or banner : *Kumbha* (Pot).
Queens : Same as Ṛṣi.

(b) *Ṛṣipāla* : Indra of *Ṛṣivādi* : North.
Same as Ṛṣi.

IV (a) *Iśvara :* Indra of *Bhūtavādi* : South.
Colour : White. Garments : White.
Symbol or banner : Bull.
Queens : Same as Iśvara.

(b) *Maheśvara* : Indra of *Bhūtavādi* : North.
Same as Iśvara.

It will be obvious that both Iśvara and Maheśvara, the Lords of Bhūtavādis are identical with Śiva or Maheśvara, the Lord of Bhūtas.

V (a) *Suvakṣa* or *Suvatsa* : Indra of *Kranditas* (Kandindas) : South.
Colour : Golden. Garments : Dark-blue.
Symbol or banner : *Śrīvatsa* mark.
Queens : as above.

(b) *Viśāla* : Indra of *Kranditas* : North.
Same as Suvakṣa.

VI (a) *Hāsa* : Indra of *Mahākranditas* : South.
Colour : Black. Garment : Yellow.
Symbol or banner : Lion.
Queens : as Hāsa (Hāsya).

(b) *Hāsyarati* : Indra of *Mahâkranditas* : North.
Same as above.

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VII (a) *Śveta* : Indra of *Kuṣmāṇḍas* (*Kohaṇḍas*) : South.
Complexion : White. Garment : White.
Symbol or banner : *Cakra.*
Queens : Same as Śveta.

(b) *Mahāśveta* : Indra of *Kuṣmāṇḍas* : North.
Same as Śveta.

VIII (a) *Pataga* : Indra of *Patagas* : South.
Colour : Coral red. Garments : White.
Banner : Swan.
Queens : As Pataga.

(b) *Patagarati* : Indra of *Patagas* : North.
Same as Pataga.

Indras of Jyotiṣka—gods.[48]

I *Candra* : (Dig.) Vāhana : Lion.
Weapon : Spear.
Mark of *Arhat Caitya.*
Showering nectar.

(Śve.) No traits available in the dhyānaśloka.
Planet moon invoked here.
Queens as Candra, showering nectar.

II *Sūrya* : (Dig.) Dhyāna Ślokas invoke him but do not describe the personified form of this planet.

(Śve.) Riding on Seven horsed chariot.
Lotuses in hand.
Banner : *Hari* (Lion).
Queens : White, and wearing red garments.

Indras of the Vaimānika Gods.[49]

These are lords of the different Kalpa-heavens, Saudharma, Īśana, Sanatkumāra and so on, round like the moon, in the ūrdhvaloka. In the Southern half is Śakra, in the Northern one is Īśana, similarly Sanatkumāra and Māhendra. Beyond that is the Brahmaloka in centre, with Brahmā as the Indra. Ānanta and Prāṇata heavens (above Lāutaka, Mahāśukra and Sahasrāra) are again round like Saudharma and Īśana, but have only one Indra, Prāṇata living in Prāṇata heavens. Above them are two heavens, Āraṇa and Acyuta, with a common Indra Acyuta.

48 *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, p. 64. *Pratiṣṭhātilaka*, pp. 309-10. *Ācāra-Dinakara*, p. 169. For Jyotiṣka gods, see, Kirfel, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

49 *Ācāra-Dinakara*, pp. 169 ff; *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, pp. 64 ff; *Pratiṣṭhātilaka*, pp. 312 ff.

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I *Saudharma.*[50] (Śve.) Indra of *Saudharma-kalpa*, also called Śakra, Wife Paulomī or Śacī.
Symbol : *Vajra* in hand.
Vāhana : *Airāvata* elephant.
Complexion : Golden.
Garment : of five colours-varieagated.

In his four-armed form, according to Ācāra-Dinakara, he shows *añjalī mudrā* with two hands, *abhaya mudrā* with a third and thunderbolt in the fourth. He is also addressed as Sahasrākṣa, Pāka-Pulama-Jambhala-Vidhvamsana and Pūrvadigadhīśa.[51] His queens are golden in appearance and wear yellow garments.[52]

In miniatures of the Kalpa-sūtra, Indra has the same colour and vāhana, but is shown as carrying the *vajra* and the elephant (for performing abhiṣeka) in his right and left upper hands, and the fruit in the left lower. The right lower held against the chest shows possibly order or query on his part of. Brown, *op.cit.*, fig. No. 7. where he is shown in his Saudharma hall sitting on a spired throne with lesser gods in front.[53] Also see, Nawab, Jaina Paintings, Vol. I. Colour Pl. 24.

Brown, *op.cit.*, fig. 9 follows the form prescribed by Ācāra—Dinakara, noted above. A third form of Saudharma is Brown's fig. 61 where he is represented in five forms, one, sitting in the centre with the Jina on his lap, two on two sides carrying pitchers for abhiṣeka, and two more in the form of bulls from whose horns again milk-white waters spring as a shower on the Jina. When represented as catching the hair plucked off by a Jina, he holds the Vajra in one hand, with two hands he holds the hair, while his fourth is in the *varada* pose (cf. Brown, *op.cit.*, fig. 96).[54] Also see, Nawab, Jain Paintings, Vol. I. Colour Pl. 48.

Sudharmendra (Dig.). The Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra says that he rides on he Airāvaṇa elephant, while the Pratiṣṭhātilaka adds that he carries the *Vajra.* ccording to Tiloyapaṇṇatti and Trilokasāra, his crest mark is a boar. Both he traditions thus seem to worship the same variety of form of Śakra, whom the ame role is assigned by them.

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50 *Ācāra-Dinakara*, p. 155, *Nirvāṇakalikā*, p. 17.
51 *Ācāra-Dinakara*, p. 158.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
53 Note also Brown's remarks on p. 13, fig. 7 of his book.
54 Similar representations are also published in *Pavitra-Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Jaina-tra-Kalpadruma*, Vol. I, *Treasures of the Jaina Bhāṇḍāras*, etc.

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The Sabhā of Saudharma Indra is described in Jaina canons.[55] It is also represented in Buddhist art, in a relief at Bhārhut.[56] It is interesting to nōte that a shrine of Sudharma yakṣa at Miyagrāma and another at Vāṇijjagrāma are referred to in the Vipāka. Sudharma seems to be one of the most popular and prominent ancient Yakṣas since the Jainas have assigned the sole of Śakra to Sudharma, and because the Buddhist also believed in the hall of Sudharmā. In the Bhārhut relief it is possibly the hall of the ancient Sudharma Yakṣa.

2. *Īśanendra :* (Śve. and Dig.) Lord of the *Īśana kalpa*, is described by the Bhagavatī sūtra as *Śūlapāṇi* (carrying the trident), riding on the bull, lord of the northern loka, dressed in white garments and wearing a mukuṭa (jaṭā) adorned with garland (of heads).[57]

The Ācāra-Dinakara[58] invokes the same form, and adds that he is white in complexion, and destroyer of the Yajña. His garments are said to be of dark-red or bluish-red (nila-lohita) colour. Four-armed, he is said to keep two hands folded in adoration of the Jina (*añjali mudrā*) and hold the trident and the bow in the other two.[59] Queens of Īśānendra, Gaurī and others of white complexion are also invoked.[60] The Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra says that Yakṣas guard his capital.[61]

According to Trilokasāra, however, the crest device of Īśāna is a deer, while his vāhana is a horse.[62]

3. *Sanatkumāra*		Invoked by both sects, but no iconography
4. *Māhendra*		available according to Digambara *Trilokasāra* ; however, Sanatkumāra has lion as vāhana and buffalo as crest-jewel while Māhendra has bull vāhana and fish as crest jewel.
5. *Brahmendra* :	(Śve.)	According to Śve. tradition (*Ācāra-Dinakara*) rides on *hamsa vimāna* and is golden in appearance.

55 Cf. The description of Sudharmā Sabhā of Vijayadeva in *Jīvajīva*$_o$ *sūtra* 3.2. sū. 137, pp. 224 ff.

56 Coomarswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 43. *Vipāka sūtra*, I and II.

57 *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 3.1.

58 *Ācāra-Dinakara*, pp. 159, 169.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 155, also p. 173.

60 They may be compared with Hindu deities of the same name.

61 *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, p. 64.

62 See, *Trilokasāra*, vv. 974 f; 486 f. For all gods of this class.

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(Dig.) According to Trilokasāra, has *sārasa* (crane) as vāhana and tortoise as crest-jewel.

5a. *Brahmottara* : (Dig.) Not invoked by Śve. or Dig. Pratiṣṭha works. According to *Trilokasāra*, *sārasa* is his vāhana, frog in his crest symbol.

6. *Lāntavaendra* : (Śve.) Invoked but no iconography available.
(Dig.) Trilokasāra :—Cuckoo as vāhana, horse as crest symbol.

6a. *Kāpiṣṭha* : (Dig.) Śve. do not believe in the existence of either this or Brahmottara above. Dig. Pratiṣṭhā works do not invoke. Acc. to Trilokasāra, Cuckoo is his vāhana, elephant is his crest-symbol.

7. *Śukrendra* : (Śve,) No iconography.
(Dig.) Trilokasāra :—Swan is his vāhana, moon the crest symbol.

7a. *Mahāśukra* : (Dig.) Not invoked in Śve. works.
Trilokasāra : Swan vehicle.
Serpent as crest-jewel.

8. *Sahasrārendra* : (Śve.) No iconography.
(Dig.) Trilokasāra : Ruddy goose (*koka*) as vāhana, goat as crest-symbol.

8a, *Śatārendra* : (Dig.) Not invoked in Śve. works.
Trilokasāra-Ruddy goose as vāhana, Rhinoceroes in the crest

Ānatendra : (Śve.) Lord of Āṇata and Prāṇata Kalpas. No iconography.
(Dig.) Trilokasāra : Garuḍa as vāhana, bull in the crest.

Prāṇatendra : (Dig.) Trilokasāra : *Makara* as vāhana, bull in the crest.

Acyutendra : (Śve.) Indra of Āraṇa and Acyuta kalpas.
(Dig.) Trilokasāra : Riding in Puṣpaka vimāna. Wishing tree as crest symbol.

Āraṇendra : (Dig.) Trilokasāra : Peacock vehicle, wishing Tree in the crest.

It will be seen that whereas the Digambaras do not invoke Indras of navyantaras, they invoke some more Indras in the Kalpavāsī class and so the tal with both the sects amounts to sixty-four.

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Beyond Īśana kalpa Indras have no queens and so they are not invoked.

ye Tīrtheśvara-janmaparvaṇi samam devāpsaraḥ sañcayaiḥ
śṛṅge Merumahīdharasya mimiluḥ sarvarddhivarddhiṣṇavaḥ
te vaimānikanagalokagaganāvāsāḥ surādhīśvarāḥ
pratyūhapratighātakarmaṇi catuḥṣaṣṭiḥ samāyāntu-iha.

Ācāra-Dinakara, p. 164.

Plates

Figure 1. Indra (Śakra), assuming five forms (including two of Bulls), performs the Birth-Bath Ceremony (Janma-Kalyāṇaka) of a Jina. *From Ms. of Kalpa-Sūtra, dated V.S 1403 (= 1346 A.D.), Muni Puṇyavijayāji's Collection, L. D. Institute. Ahmedabad.*

Figure 2. Śakra—Indra performing obeisance to the newly-born Jina. (Śakrastava scene). *From Ms. of Kalpa-Sūtra, dated 1547 V.S. (1490 A.D.), Collections of the L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad.*

Figure 3. Iśāna—Indra. *From cloth-painting of Surimantra Tantric Diagram (Sūrimantrayantra-paṭa), Age circa Fifteenth Century, collections of the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.*

Figure 4. Śakra's-Court. *From Ms. of Kalpa-Sūtra, No. 7401/1, Muni Hamsavijaya Collection, Shri Ātmārāmji Jñāna Mandir, Baroda. circa 16th Century A.D.*

Figure 5. Indra, Ceiling of main Sabhāmandapa, Vimala Vasahi, Delvāḍā, Mt. Abu. *Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.*

Figure 6. Indra. Drawing of a relief sculpture of Indra, with miniature figures of the eight Dikpālās in the outer border of the square. *Ceiling in front of Gomateśwara, Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Copyright, Dept. of Archaeology of The Karnataka State.*

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SOME IMPORTANT VOCABLES FROM THE DODHAKA VṚTTI, A SANSKRIT GLOSS ON THE APABHRAṀŚA QUOTATIONS IN THE PRĀKRIT GRAMMAR OF HEMACANDRA

By

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The Sanskrit commentaries on Jaina Canonical texts in Prākrit, the voluminous texts on Jaina Mythology like Ācārya Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacaritra*, the *Caritra*s or narratives of the lives of individual Tīrthaṅkaras composed by numerous Jaina poets, the vast story-literature in prose and verse, the *Prabandha*-works by mediaeval Jaina authors, works on Jaina theology, cosmology and allied subjects as also the commentaries by Jaina authors on Classical Sanskrit works—both creative and śāstric—display, as it were, a regional style of Sanskrit language presenting a number of cases of the usage of rare and obsolete words and such hybrid forms as back-formations, hyper-Sanskritizations and dialectical words, expressions and even syntactical peculiarities. Consequently, at least, some knowledge of the old and modern regional languages—especially of Gujarat and Western Rajasthan—and the Prākrits is essential for grasping the proper sense of such compositions.

In *Lexicographical Studies in 'Jaina Sanskrit'* (M. S. University Oriental Series, no. 5, Baroda, 1962) which was serially printed in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (from October-December 1958 to September, 1962) the present author (who was then the Director of the Oriental Institute), and Mr. J. P. Thaker (who was then one of the Research Officers of the Institute and has recently retired as the Director) have jointly shown the lexicographical importance of such peculiar words and expressions occurring in three foremost specimens of *Prabandha*-literature, viz. the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (1305 A.D.) of Merutuṅgasūri, the *Prabandhakośa* (1349 A.D.) of Rājaśekharasūri and the *Purātana-prabandhasaṅgraha*—all published in the Singhi Jaina Series. Later on, both these authors brought out a long paper of 51 printed pages, entitled *Some Important Vocables from Sanskrit Commentaries on Jaina Canonical texts*, written between the 8th and 18th centuries A.D., also published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Vol. XV, nos. 3-4, March-Jnne, 1966).

The present paper contains a glossary of more than 125 vocables and brings out a similar study of selected words from the *Dodhaka vṛtti*, a Sanskrit gloss on the Apabhraṁśa quotations in the Prākrit grammar, which is the eighth chapter

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of the *Siddha-Hema Śabdānuśāsana* by the great Savant Hemacandra (1089-1173 A.D.) who did his work at Patan, the historical capital of Gujarat. Obviously, the *Dodhaka vṛtti* was composed for the use of the student who intended to study the Apabraṁśa portion of his grammar. Probably, it was useful to the teacher also. The work is called *Dodhaka Vṛtti* (lit. ' Commentary on the *Dodhakas* '), because the majority of the quotations given by Hemacandra are presumably from the floating literature of his times and most of the verses are in the *Dodhaka* or *Duhā* metre.

The *Dodhaka Vṛtti* is an anonymous work ; the name of its author is not known. We do not know the date of its composition. The upper time-limit can be the time of Hemacandra, that is, the 12th century A.D. But the work, obviously, does not appear to be so old. However, the lower time-limit can not be later than the 15th century A.D., looking to a number of its manuscripts—dated and undated—preserved in Jñāna-Bhāṇḍāras or Jaina Manuscript Libraries in various parts of Gujarat.

The *Dodhaka vṛtti* is edited by Mr. Bhagwandas Harakhchand Pandit and published at Patan, North Gujarat, in 1916. This is not a critical edition and is based on only one manuscript copied down in V.S. 1672 (1616 A.D.) at Patan, though several other manuscripts were easily available. It is a small text of 56 pages of Demi Octavo size printed in 16 point types, the Apabhraṁśa verses having been printed in still larger types.

I trust that culling of important vocables from this small but distinctive text will be interesting and useful to the scholars of Sanskrit language in general, and of ' Jaina Sanskrit ' in particular.

In this glossary the Sanskrit words are printed in the Devanāgarī types in alphabetical order with their transliteration and English translation. The references are printed in English types ; the first figure indicates the page-number of the printed text, while the second figure states the number of line on the same page, in which the vocable occurs.

अइमन [Aimana] Extraordinarily wonderful; 48.3
अग्गिट्ठ [Agniṣṭha] Cremated; 49.12
अच्छ [Accha] Beautiful; 9.14
अनुहरन्ते [Anuharante] Imitate; 17.10
अर्गल [Argala] A bar; 4.13
अर्गला [Argalā] A bar; 54.13
अर्गलम् [Argalam] In addition to (over and above); 6.11
आडम्बराणि [Āḍambarāṇi] Pretensions; 40.4
आलोचना [Ālocanā] Penitence, repentence; 49.4
उड्डाययन्त्या [Aḍḍāyayantyā] putting (crows) to flight; 10.13
ओहट्टइ [Ohaṭṭai] Decreases; 39.15

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कटरि [Kaṭari] (An indeclinable suggesting) exclamation of wonder; 9.18
कपर्दिका [Kapardikā] Cowrie; 4.7
कम्बलिका [Kambalikā] A woollen rug or blanket, Guj. कांबळी [Kāmbaḷī]; 47.11
कल्लोलडक [Kalolaḍaka] A weak bullock; 40.20
कषपट्टक [Kaṣapaṭṭaka] Touchstone; 1.5
कसरक [Kasaraka] A morsel; 47.1
कियद्वारं [Kīyadvāram] How many times; 23.4
कुरला [Kuralā] Curly hair; 22.17
कोटर [Koṭara] / कोतर [Kotara] } Ravine; 41.16
खला [Khalā] Oil-cake; Guj. खोळ; 33.8
खाद् [Khād] To eat; 42.5
गञ्जितः [Gañjīta] Defeated; 34.4
गतिका [Gatikā] Gone, lost; 17.18
गिल [Gila] Swallow; 29.2
गिल्यते [Gilyate] Is swallowed; 18.21
गुणनात [Guṇanāt] By counting; 3.17
गुणयति [Guṇayati] Brandishes (a weapon); 45.5
गोष्ठ [Goṣṭha] Farm-house; 36.8
गोष्ठ [Goṣṭha] A village of shepherds; 47.14
गोष्ठकाः [Goṣṭhakā] Cow-herds, herds-men; 47.13
घटयति [Ghaṭayati] Makes, offers; 5.15
घटा [Ghaṭā] Array, legion; 12.7
घड [Ghaḍa] An array; 12.8
घंघल [Ghaṅghala] Quarrel; 41.13
घुण्टक [Ghuṇṭaka] A gulp, Guj. घुंटडो [Ghuṁṭaḍo]; 47.1
घोटकाः [Ghoṭakāḥ] Horses; 2.5
चटति [Caṭati] Mounts; 41.1
चटितः [Caṭitaḥ] mounted; 2.15
चपेटाचटत्कार [Capeṭācatatkāra] Crackling sound of a slap; 33.3
चलितः [Calita] Those who have started (on their travel); 27.20
चारभटी [Cārabhaṭī] Heroic behavior; 29.13
चूटक [Cūṭaka] Bracelet; Guj. चूडो [Cūḍo]; 27.5
छुडु [Chuḍu] Quickly; 31.6
जगटकानि [Jagaṭakāni] Quarrels; Guj. झगडो [Jhagaḍo]; 41.14
जरखंडी [Jarakhaṇḍī] Tattered; 47.11.
जाति [Jāti] (Past) births; 15.11
झुम्पडी [Jhumpaḍī] A hut; 37.21
तर्कयति [Tarkayati] longs for; Guj. ताके [Tāke]; 19.3
तेम्यते [Timyate] Becomes wet; 37 17
तिरिच्छि [Tirīcchi] Lying transverse; 40.3

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तिलतार [Tilatāra] Pupils of whose eyes are as glossy (affectionate) as sesamum; 11.191

तीमोद्वान [Tīmodvāna] Wet and dry; 50.5

त्रटत् [Traṭat] Crackling; 13.5

दडवड [Daḍavaḍa] Attack, assault; 45.12

दत्ताः [Dattāḥ] Promised, pledged; 3.15

दम्य [Damya] A weak (bullock); 40.20

दिव्य [Divya] A place of pilgrimage, 53.16

दूरोड्डीनेन [Dūroḍḍīnena] By flying to a great distance; 4.16

देशोच्चाटनम् [Deśoccāṭanam] Leaving one's country; 51.14

धनानि [Dhanāni] Life; 55.12

धरति [Dharati] Upholds, props up; 3.20

धरा [Dharā] Relief, Support; 21.11

धवल [Dhavala] Bull; 5.19

धाटी [Dhāṭī] Attack, assault; Guj. धाड [Dhāḍa]; 45.13

नटतु [Naṭatu] Let (the fate) dance; 24.7

नट्यते [Naṭyate] Is made to dance; 18.20

नवखी [Navakhī] Extraordinary; Guj. अनोखी-नोखी [Anokhī-Nokhī]; 40.13

नवरं [Navaram] Only; 21.13

निभालय [Nibhālaya] Look, Behold; Guj. निहाळ [Nihāḷa]; 20.14

नृत्यापित [Nṛtyāpita] Made to dance; 40.8

पक्षापतित [Pakṣāpatīta] Partial; 32.4

पट्टण [Paṭṭaṇa] a town; Guj. पाटण [Pāṭaṇa]; 33.17

पतति [Patati] Pounces upon, attacks; 45.13

(अवसरे) पतिते [(Avasare) Patite] When the occasions arises; Guj. अवसर पड्ये [Avasara Paḍye]; 13.18

पदरक्ष [Padarakṣa] A foot-guard; 37.3

पदातिरक्ष [Padātirakṣa] A foot-guard; 37.3

परिवारित [Parivārita] Prohibited; 51.19

पल्लव [Pallava] Hem (of skirt); Guj. पालव [Pālava]; 39.19

प्रस्तर [Prastara] Stone; 7.13

बेडा [Beḍā] A boat; 46.17

भड [Bhaḍa] A warrior; 12.8

भल्ल [Bhalla] A spear; Guj. भालो [Bhālo]; 45.5

भषणशील [Bhaṣaṇaśīla] Having a tendency to bark; 54.6

मणिकाः [Maṇikāḥ] Beads; Guj. मणका [Maṇakā]; 35.5

मदकल [Madakala] Elephant; Guj. मेगळ [Megaḷa]; 33.4

मार्गण [Mārgaṇa] A begger; Guj. मागण [Māgaṇa]; 32.4

मार्गणम् [Mārgaṇam] Supplication, begging; 24.3

मार्गयथ [Mārgayatha] (You) Supplicate, beg; 24.3

मुक्तल [Muktala] Generous; Guj. मोकळो [Mokaḷo]; 16.15

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मुद्ग [Mudga] Phaseolus Mungs; Guj. मग [Maga]; 34.2
यादृक् तादृक् [Yādṛk Tādṛk] Ordinary; 32.12
रक्षपाल [Rakṣapāla] Guard; 37.2
रथवर [Rathavara] The best of the chariots; 2.15
रूपकं [Rūpakam] A silver coin; a rupee; 38.13
लगति [Lagati] (He) reaches; 26.6
लगयित्वा [Lagayitvā] Having attached; 21.2
लगित्वा [Lagitvā] Having brought together; 2.18
लगित्वा [Lagitvā] Having caught; 5.8
लोमपटी [Lomapaṭī] A woollen garment or Saree Guj. लोबडी [Lobaḍī]; 47.11
वढ [Vaḍha] A fool; 42.5
वराक [Varāka] Pitiable; 25.8
वलनानि [Valanāni] Turnings; 41.15
वलामहे [Valāmahe] (We) feel at ease; 24.15
वलितः [Valitāḥ] Turned back; 3.3
वल्गा [Valgā] Rein; Guj. वाग-वाघ [Vāga-Vāgha]; 2.8
वार्दल [Vārdala] Cloud; 31.11
वालयति [Vālayati] Turns back; 2.8
वाहितं [Vāhitam] Made use of, utilized; 16.8
विकाल [Vikāla] Evening; Guj. वियाळु-वाळु [Viyāḷu-Vāḷu] (supper); 21.12
विट्टालु [Viṭṭālu] Impurity, Guj. वटाळ [Vaṭāḷa]; 42.2
विध्यापयति [Vidhyāpayati] Extinguishes; 36.9
विभातं [Vibhātam] Day-break; 14.18
वृद्धत्वम् [Vṛddhatvam] Greatness; Guj. वडपण [Vaḍapaṇa]; 16.15
वृद्धत्वम [Vṛddhatvam] Growth, development; 17.11
वेष [Veṣa] A tart; 24.8
श्योतति [Ścyotati] Trickles; 38.1
सिद्धार्थ [Siddhārtha] Mustard seed; 47.5
सुखासिका [Sukhāsikā] State of being at ease; 12.19
सुखासिका [Sukhāsikā] A comfortable bed; 21.4
स्तन्वी [Stanví] A dedicate woman; 31.18
स्तोघ [Stāgha] Depth, Guj. ताग [Tāga]; 54.17
स्थली [Sthalī] Field, battle-field; 2.6
स्फुट [Sphuṭa] Burst open; Guj. फूटवुं [Phūṭavuṁ]; 13.5
स्फुटक [Sphuṭaka] Being hammered (iron); 46.11
स्फोटयति [Sphoṭayati] Wipes out; 13.11
स्रस्तर [Srastara] } Bed; 12.17
संस्तारक [Samstāraka] }
हरित [Hārita] spoiled; 34.2

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NĀGEŚWARA : A MATURE HARAPPAN SHELL WORKING SITE ON THE GULF OF KUTCH, GUJARAT

By

KULDEEP BHAN* AND JONATHAN MARK KENOYER,†

Recent explorations in the peripheral regions east of the Indus valley have established the spread of Harappan culture to settlements in Kutch, Saurashtra, Rajasthan and Harayana, but there has been much speculation on the reasons behind this cultural expansion. The discovery of Nāgeśwara on the southern shore of the Gulf of Kutch, Gujarat, has provided important new information regarding the Harappan expansion in this region. The site is located on the edge of a fresh water reservoir called Bhimgaja Talao, (22 20′ North Lat., 69 6′ East Long.) which is associated with an ancient Śaivite temple of Nāgeśwara Mahādeva. This temple is about 17 km northeast along the Dwarka-Gopi, Talao bus route.

In the course of his detailed survey of the archaeological sites in Jamnagar District, the first author was notified of the discovery of ancient pottery and rtifacts from Bhimgaja Talao by contractors building a new earthen dam for e reservoir. At least half of the site has been destroyed through the systematic xcavation of rectangular pits with meter-wide baulks. However, this method of xcavation has resulted in the preservation of numerous sections, providing tratigraphic information that is generally lacking in surface surveys. Furthermore, the excavators were interested in removing only the soft organic soil for onstruction of the dam, leaving large accumulations of potsherds, shell fragents, grinding stones and stone foundations in situ. This unique situation has ade it possible to observe important architectural features and distribution of ell manufacturing waste in their original contexts.

A rough estimate of the total size of the exposed site is about 120 × 100 ters, but it may extend a bit further to the south, where the new dam covers rt of the site, and also to the northeast, where many excavated areas have eady filled with water. On the basis of the surface contours and the evidence the exposed sections, the site appears to consist of a low irregular mound, one two meters thick.

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Geographically situated at the base of a peninsula separating Poshetra Ba and Pindara Bay (Fig. 1) the ancient inhabitants would have had access to both of these important marine resource areas. Presently the site is about 8 km from either of these bays, but the presence of intrusive salt marshes suggest that in the past, the sea may have extended further inland. In fact, a break in the northern ridge separating the site from Poshetra Bay may be the ancient mouth of a lagoon or bay connected directly to Poshetra Bay, and Bhimgaja Talao may be a more recent man-made alteration utilizing the ancient bay as a reservoir. Bhimgaja Talao is presently fed by fresh water springs and monsoon runoff, and the presence of these springs would have been an important factor to the ancient settlers in this region, where most ground water is quite brackish.

Due to the saline ground water the vegetation in the region is scanty, consisting primarily of acacia and cactus. Aquatic plants growing along the banks of the reservoir are dominated by the fresh water reeds locally known as "berdi" (*Typha angasta*) and "kasa". The modern inhabitants use reeds to make mats, baskets and temporary shelters.[3] These reeds were pro used for similar purposes by the ancinet settlers, and the "berdi" reed also have been used for building reed bundle ships as has been suggested Heyerdahl (1981 : 277). The soil around the site is quite rocky and only limited amount of agriculture is presently carried out ; including wheat, barley pulses, castor bean and a few vegetables. Although there is better farming lan inland from the site, most of the local inhabitants make a livlihood from fishin pearling and collecting shells. It is unlikely that the vegetation or the marin fauna have changed much since the 3rd millennium B.C., suggesting that th Harappan settlers selected this location for its proximity to marine resources, th presence of fresh water and possibly the availability of reeds suitable for makin boats.

Looking more closely at the ancient site, we find a wide range of diagnost artifacts, many of which came from the stratigraphic contexts of the sections l by the systematic excavations of the contractors. These artifacts provide am material to determine the chronological placement of the site and also the ba subsistence of the inhabitants.

Chronologically, the site represents a single period occupation during t mature phase of the Harappan or Indus Civilization, which is dated from abo 2450 B.C. to 1900 B.C. at the site of Lothal (Rao, 1979 : 43-45). These da are based on extrapolations made from C-14 dates from both Rangpur a Lothal and comparative studies of the ceramics from the major Harappan s of Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, etc. Ceramics collected from various expo strata at Nāgeśwara represent a single pottery tradition, with no evidence fo pre-Harappan or a late Harappan occupation. The assemblage consists prima of vessels made from a reddish-yellow fine to medium sandy clay, well leviga

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and without any vegetable or grit temper, generally referred to as Harappan red ware. Classic Harappan forms are seen in the dish-on-stand with glossy red slip and black painted designs (Fig. 2 : 1), dish-on-stand with centrally incised designs (Fig. 2 : 3), a slender bulb-like column from a dish-on-stand (Fig 2 : 3), the base of a squat dish-on-stand (Fig. 2 : 4) ; sherds from globular pot/jars having red slip and characteristic Harappan painted designs of floral motifs (Fig. 2 : 6, 7), and geometric designs (Fig. 2 : 5, 9) ; perforated jar with exterior projecting bead rim (Fig. 2 : 8) ; bowls with bi-laterally projecting rims, having red slip on the interior and over the exterior of the rim (Fig. 2 : 13), and with red slip and black bands (Fig. 2 : 14); bowl with externally projecting rim, red slip with black painted designs (Fig. 2 : 11); and a stud handled bowl with red slip and black painted designs (Fig 2 : 12). This last form is comparable with the regional Harappan style of stud handled bowl found at Lothal and Rangpur II A and B (Rao, 1962-63; 68-101). Another unique form that is characteristic of the regional Harappan style is the channel-spouted bowl with red slip and black painted designs (Fig. 3 : 1). Comparative examples of this type of vessel are found in the so called " lamps " from Lothal, Period B and Rangpur Periods II C and III (Rao, 1962-63 : 101, 120). This form is considered to occur during the later degenerate Harappan phase at Rangpur (Rao, 1962-63 : 98) and therefore may indicate that the length of occupation at Nāgeśwara extends over a considerable length of time.

Other less diagnostic sherds of this same fabric are represented by large jar/pots with externally projecting rims and having sed slip (Fig. 3 : 5, 6, 8); red slipped bowls with simple or externally projecting rims (Fig. 3 : 2, 3, 4); red slipped jar/pots with externally projecting bead rims (Fig. 2 : 10); and a possible lid with red slip (Fig. 3 : 7). Besides red slipped wares, various undiagnostic sherds of unslipped buff wares have also been found at the site.

Grey wares are represented by a pot/bowl with simple rim and possibly having a black slip (Fig. 3 : 9), and a flat disc base from a small pot/jar with remains of a black slip on the exterior (Fig. 3 : 10). This type of grey ware is not common in the Harappan sites in Gujarat but is found at most Harappan sites in the Indus valley (Marshall, 1931 : 289).

A heavier ware made of clay with vegetable temper and coarse sandy inclusions is also found at the site. These vessels are represented by large pots with simple, externally projecting rims having punctated and combed designs at the neck (Fig. 3 : 25) and what is probably a crude bowl or basin with a simple vertical rim (Fig. 3 : 26). This type of pottery has been reported from Mithathal II B and Siswal I in Harayana (Choudhury, 1972 ; 1973), as well as from many sites in Gujarat, such as Jokha, Dhatva, and Kanewal (Mehta, 1971, 1975, 1980) ; Rangpur (Rao, 1962-63) ; and Somnath (Nanavati and Mehta, 1956 : 35).

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It is unlikely that the Mature Harappan pottery was brought to the site from the Indus valley as several examples of overfired and vitrified sherds were collected in the course of the survey. These indicate that the inhabitants produced their own pottery from locally available clays, but using techniques and styles that were identical to those used at other Harappan sites in Gujarat and the greater Indus valley region.

Among the other artifacts recovered from the site we found parallel sided blades of chalcedony, but none of the chert blades common in the Indus valley sites. This absence of chert blades is understandable in view of the fact that chalcedony is abundant in this region, whereas the source for chert is hundreds of kilometers away. Interestingly enough, copper was not found during the survey, however, evidence of sawing on shell fragments indicates that a copper/bronze saw was used at the site. Ground stone objects found at the site include large concave grinding stones, mullers, hammerstones, and a curious broken stone object with two holes drilled through it.

Numerous faunal remains were discovered in the sections and a preliminary study indicates the presence of domestic cattle, sheep/goat and various species of marine fish. However, the most common faunal remains, even more abundant than pottery, are fragments of the marine gastropods *Turbinella pyrum* Linne. and *Chicoreus ramosus* Linne.. These fragments consist of broken shell ornaments, utensils and the manufacturing wasters left from their manufacture. The vast quantities of shell manufacturing waste indicate that the site was a major center for the production of shell ornaments and utensils during the Harappan period.

Before discussing the nature of the shell industry at Nāgeśwara, it is important to better understand the characteristic features and habitats of the gastropods used in this industry. The *Turbinella pyrum*, more commonly known as the chank or conch shell, is a very thick, sturdy gastropod with a smooth exterior surface. The central columella is solid, spiraling and therefore suitable for the manufacture of various solid objects. The organism living inside the shell is edible and quite nutritious. Geographically, this species is limited to protected bays along the western and southern coasts of the Indian sub-continent, preferring to live on sandy bottoms or the sandy areas between coral reefs or rocky areas. In the Gulf of Kutch they are found only along the southern shore, occurring at depths ranging from 3 to 10 fathoms. Mr. S. I. Patel (Research Officer, Gujarat Fisheries Research Station, Sikka) has observed that the T. pyrum in these waters appear to roll up with the current from deeper waters during the warmer months and disperse back to the deeper waters during the cold winter months. The present fishing season extends from April to June, then continues after the monsoon season from October till January. Shells are generally collected by diving from boats or wading between the reefs during low

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tide. However, shells found in shallow waters near the coral reefs are often interlaced with bore holes from boring organisms such as the *Cliona* sponge. Hornell (1915 : 7) notes that these bore holes are not found on shells fished from deeper waters or from regularly fished beds. In other words, each new influx of shells is collected before they (i.e. shells) are exposed to the predations of boring organisms living on or near the coral reefs.

The *Chicoreus ramosus* is quite different from the T. pyrum, both in terms of morphology and preferred habitat. Structurally this gastropod is large, inflated, with a hollow spiraling columella and numerous spines and nodes covering the entire exterior surface of the shell. It has a much wider distribution, extending throughout the entire Indo-Pacific region, but along the western coasts of the sub-continent, it is found primarily in the Gulf of Kutch, and is not common further west along the Sind and Makran coasts. This species is generally found in rocky areas or coral reefs, where it preys upon oysters and other shellfish by perforating the hard calcium of the shell with an acidic secretion and then consuming the soft parts of the organism. Ironically enough, this species is also attacked by similarly equipped boring worms and sponges, so that the apex and anterior portions of the shell are generally perforated by numerous predator holes. The meat of this species is also edible, but it is not commonly eaten by any known groups in the sub-continent.

Fragments of T. pyrum collected from Nāgeśwara indicate that the shells were selected for the absence of bore holes and most probably were fished regularly from deep sandy beds. Only 4 out of 30 fragments show bore holes whereas for C. ramosus, 15 out of 18 fragments exhibit bore holes. The 3 pieces without holes come from the interior portion of the shell which would not normally exhibit such features even if the exterior was laced with holes. On the basis of these data we can suggest that the ancient fishermen were using boats and diving in deeper waters to collect T. pyrum, while the C. ramosus was collected from rocky areas and coral reefs during low tide or by making shallow dives.

On the basis of the preliminary surface survey, T. pyrum appears to have been more commonly used than C. ramosus, but it must be noted that C. ramosus fragments are more plentiful at Nāgeśwara than at any other Harappan site. As has been found from many other Harappan sites, T. pyrum at Nāgeśwara was used primarily for the manufacture of bangles and secondarily, the manufacturing waste was reworked into other objects such as beads or inlay pieces. So far, only bangle manufacturing waste has been discovered at this site, with no evidence for bead or inlay manufacture.

C. ramosus was also used to make bangles, but its main role was in the manufacture of ladles or spoons. These too, have been reported from most Harappan sites, but due to the paucity of recognised manufacturing waste, the

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techniques for processing this species to make bangles and ladles, has not been fully understood until the discovery of Nāgeśwara.

In order to manufacture shell bangles from T. pyrum, the shell was first hollowed out by perforating the apex and breaking the internal septa using a long copper pick or chisel. The shell was then sawn at a diagonal to remove rough circlets, (Fig. 4 : 5, 6, 7) which were ground and polished to produce beautiful white bangles (Fig. 4: 1, 2, 3). A slightly different technique was developed for the C. ramosus, which has a radically different structure. First, the exterior spines were sawn and ground off to produce a smooth exterior surface for sawing the body of the shell. Then, instead of hollowing out the shell from the apex, the septa and hollow columella were broken by chipping from the large orifice of the shell. Once it had been hollowed out, the shell was sawn at a diagonal, as with the T. pyrum, to remove rough circlets (Fig. 4 : 4). Although this difference in procedure did not effect the finished product, it does exemplify the ingenuity and technical skill of the Harappan artisans. Differences in shell morphology however, do effect the form of the finished bangle, such that bangles made from T. pyrum are generally thicker and sturdier than those made from C. ramosus. On the other hand, bangles made from C. ramosus are generally of a larger diameter because this grows to a larger size than the average T. pyrum. It is possible that these larger bangles were made specifically for wearing on the upper arm or as ankle ornaments.

Bangle fragments collected from Nāgeśwara represent the same major styles found at other Harappan sites; narrow bangles with a single ridge and a triangular section (Fig. 4 : 1, 2, 3); and wide bangles having a slightly convex or rectangular section (Fig. 4 : 4, 6). T. pyrum bangles range in width from 4 mm to 22 mm and C. ramosus bangles from 9 mm to 22 mm, but due to the small size of our sample, it has not been possible to determine if there is a definite stylistic break between narrow and wide bangles. The bangles are usually incised at the shell suture with the simple chevron motif that is characteristic of all bangles of the mature Harappan period throughout the extent of the civilization (Fig. 4 : 1, 2).

In addition to providing information on subsistence and chronology, a detailed study of shell manufacturing waste from sites such as Nāgeśwara can give us new insights into other craft specializations of the Harappan artisans, particularly their copper/bronze technology. Data from this site serves to further substantiate findings made by the second author at other Harappan sites regarding the size and form of the saw used to cut the shells. This saw was evidently designed specially for cutting hard shell, and its form can be partially reconstructed on the basis of cut marks left on the waste fragments. It appears to have been a large, heavy saw with a long convex cutting edge that was bi-directionally denticulated. This edge had a thickness of between .5 and .75 mm and could

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cut to a depth of 250 to 300 mm. Bronze was the strongest metal known to the Harappans and it is interesting that their metallurgists could produce such a thin tempered bronze blade that could easily cut through the hard T. pyrum shell, which is between 5 and 6 on the Moh's scale of hardness. Unfortunately, no saws fitting this description have been discovered from the excavated Harappan sites, but it is possible that a site such as Nāgeśwara, which was primarily a shell working site, might contain examples on this illusive artifact.

Besides the manufacture of bangles, Nāgeśwara was producing a considerable quantity of shell ladles made from C. ramosus. These ladles were made by first sawing and grinding off the external spines and then sawing around the length tion, the largest shell whorl to produce a cup shaped piece with a long handle (Fig. 4). consistt of the C. ramosus waste fragments are remains from ladle manufacture, occur although we found numerous unfinished ladle fragments, no finished ladles ere recovered from the site. Without carrying out excavations at the site it will e difficult to determine the actual presence or absence of finished shell ladles, owever, their absence from the surface may indicate that ladles were being produced for the trade rather than local use. In studying the relative frequency of e finished bangles to bangle manufacturing waste, we see a similar pattern of mense qualities of manufacturing waste and relatively few finished bangles. n the basis of these data it would seem to indicate that the site was primarily a nufacturing site producing shell objects for trade to regional or central Indus ley sites.

Another aspect of the site that was apparent only because of the excavations the dam builders, was the presence of extensive stone foundations throughout e entire site. These foundations were constructed from large, flat slabs of idstone or limestone that had been partially dressed, and consisted of two or ree courses, some of which were as much as 90 cm in width. The buildings presented by these foundations were square or rectangular, but due to bad eservation, it was not possible to determine the size or relationsip of the ferent exposed structures. The orientation of the walls appeared to be along cardinal directions, but further surveys will be necessary to confirm this. It assumed that the superstructures were made of mud brick, which was the mmon building material at rural Harappan settlements.

One important question, which cannot be answered from the preliminary face survey, is the identity of the people who settled at Nāgeśwara. Were y colonists from the main Indus valley or other Harappan coastal sites, or re they indigenous peoples who had adopted Harappan traditions and material ture through possible trade contacts ? Whoever they were, the location of settlement indicates a good knowledge of the regional resources ; with access a reliable supply of fresh water, a limited amount of arable land and grazing d near the site, and most important, access to unlimited marine resources.

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Although the main economic asset of the inhabitants was their product of shell objects for trade, they probably also raised some livestock and practi limited agriculture in addition to fishing. These other resources would h provided food and security during off season or if there was a slump in the s market. The surplus goods produced for trade were probably traded to larger urban centers along well established trade and exchange netwo connecting the Indus valley with Gujarat, and Gujarat with the northern regi of Rajasthan and Harayana. The discovery of Shortugai in the lapis la producing region of Badakshan, Afghanistan (Frankfort, 1978) and the locat of numerous Harappan copper and pottery manufacturing sites in Cholis Pakistan (Mughal, 1980 : 94) have provided us with significant new d demonstrating the dependence of the major urban centers on outlying reso areas. Shell is another important material used at most Harappan sites, Nāgeśwara appears to be one of the important coastal sites which provided shells and finished shell objects to urban centers situated far inland. As m surveys are done in the regions adjacent to the Indus valley, and especiall those regions with access to raw materials commonly used during the In period, we will be able to understand more of the socio-economic aspects of important proto-historic culture.

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Fi... important Harappan sites.

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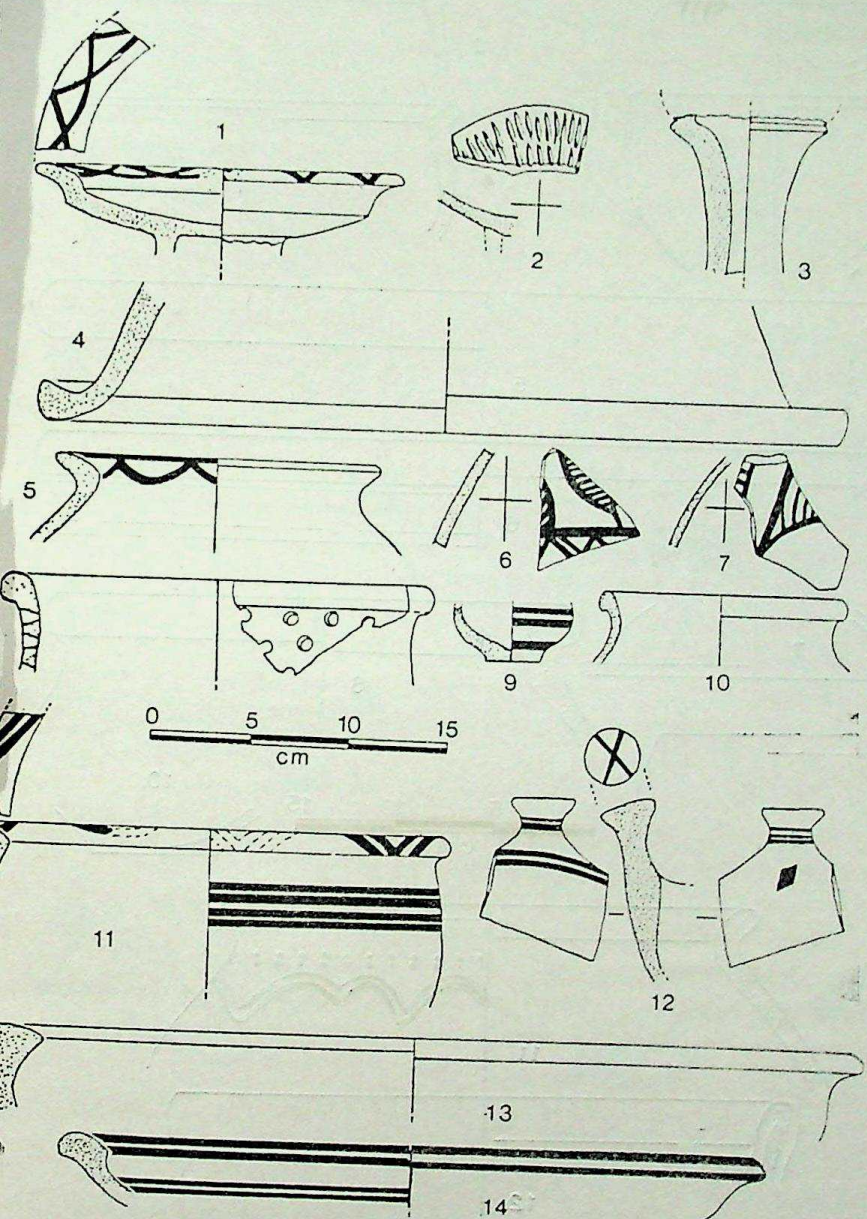

g.2, Nageshwar; Red Ware

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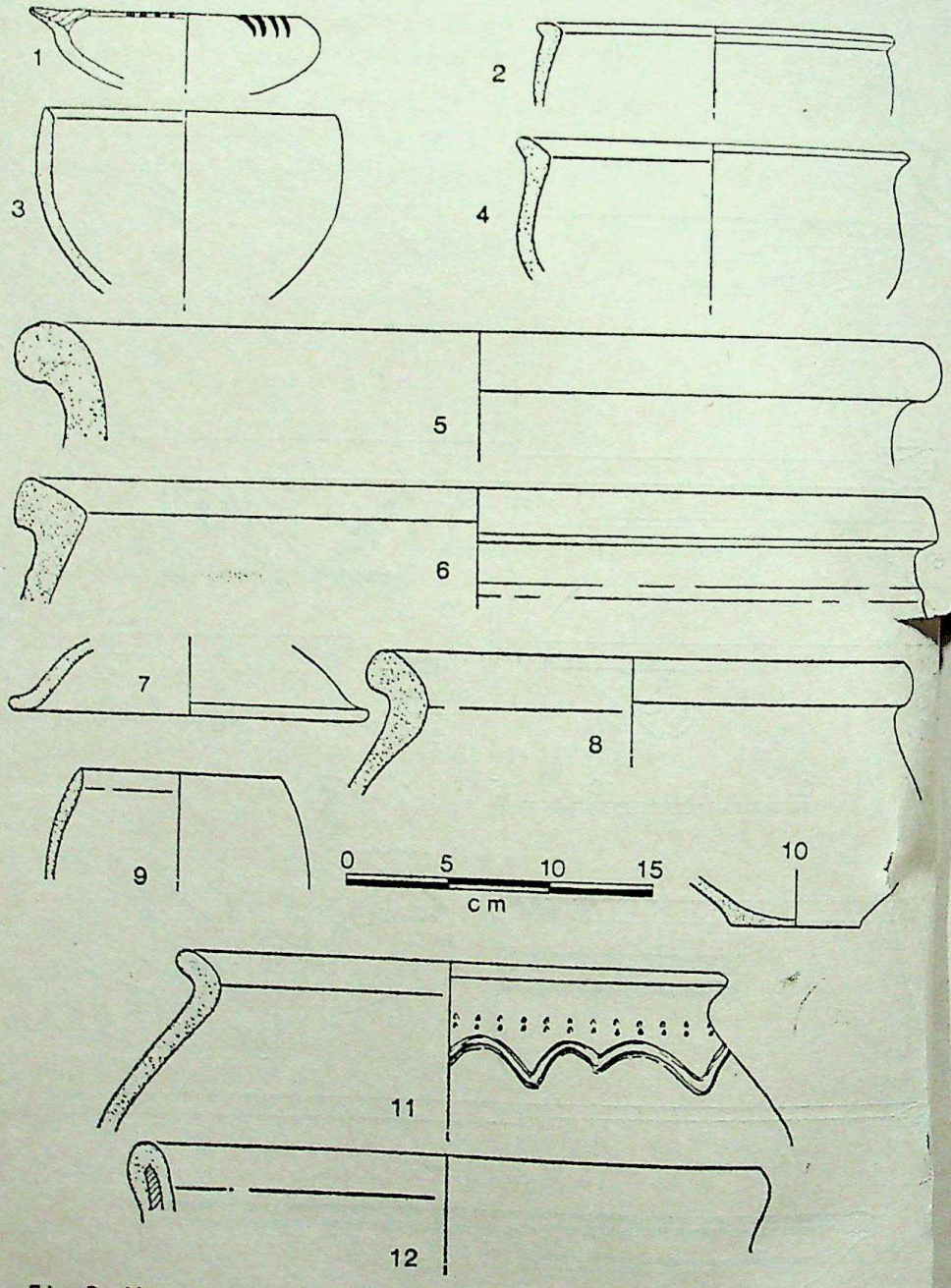

Fig.3, Nageswar; Red Ware (1-8); Grey Ware (9,10); Coarse Ware (11,12).

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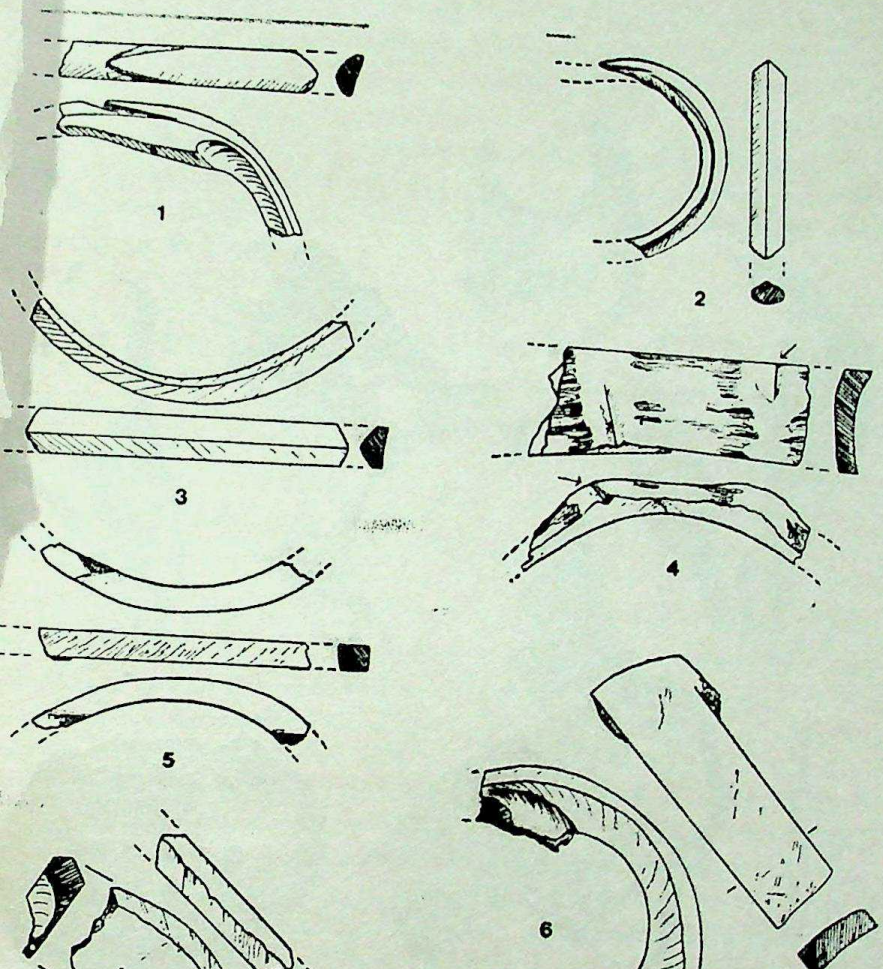

Fig. 4 Shell bangles; finished(1-3), unfinished(4-7).

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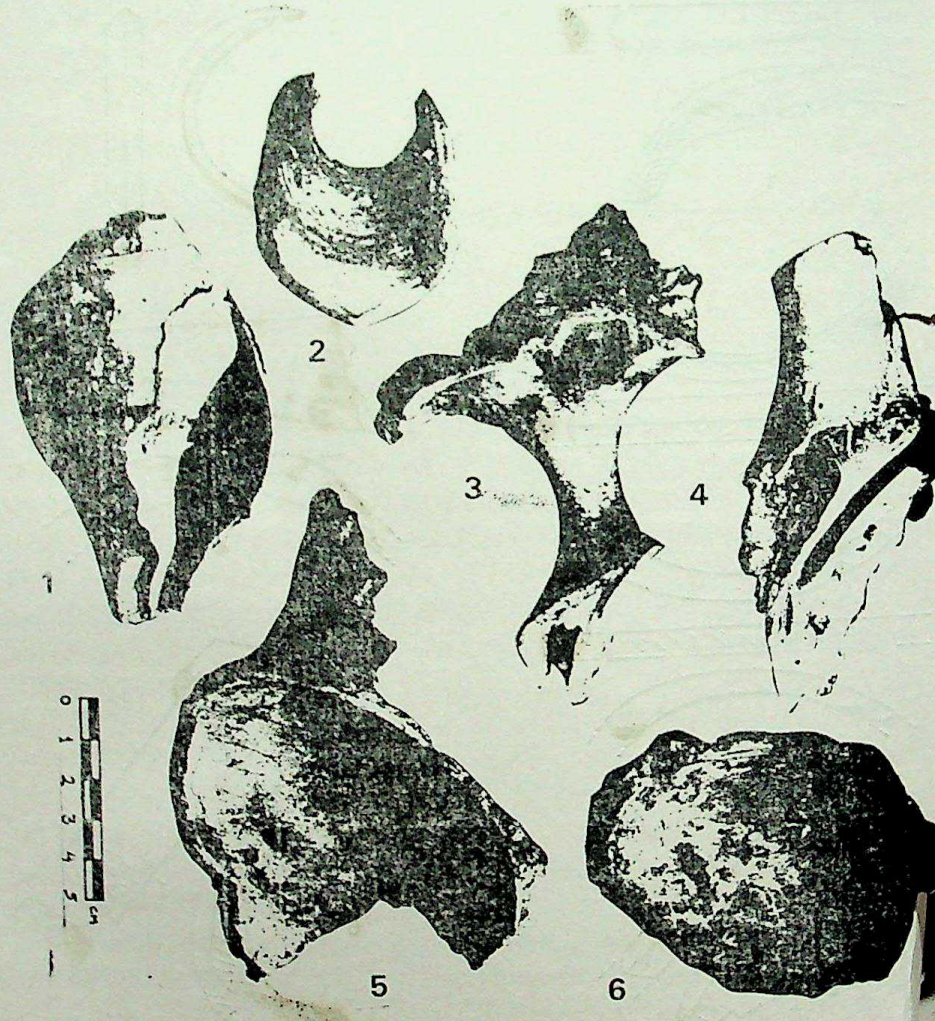

Fig. 5 *Turbinella pyrum*, Shell wasters (1, 2)
Chicoreous ramosus, Ladle manufacturing waste (4-6)

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THE RATHAVAS OF PANCH MAHALS

By

BHAGAWANSINGH SURYAVANSHI*

I

In the Fourth Five-Year plan I was assigned the project to carry out the ltural anthropological survey of Panchmahal district of Gujarat. I completed e work well in time, but due to some reasons, it was not published, the results my study are as follows :—

II

Panch Mahals has been a very crucial district of Gujarat which lay on the order of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. It lies roughly between 73° 15′ and 4° 30′ eastern longitude and 20° 30′ and 23° 30′ north latitude. Its north-uth length is about 128.75 Kilometres or 80 miles and east-west breadth is out 115.87 Kms. (72 miles). The district is bound on north by the barkantha district of Gujarat and Banaswara district of Rajasthan and is uated to the North-East of Baroda and Kaira district.

This district originally consisted five mahals viz. Godhra, Kalol, Halol, had and Jhalod. In the 19th century during the regime of Scindhia it was ed Pavagarh—Panch mahals because Pavagarh was its headquarter. It is a tract except the western part comprising Kalol, part of Halol, Godhra and awada. The whole northern and eastern portion of the district is covered forests and hills rising to the height of 829.36 metres often intercepted by n, cultivated lands and villages, administered under the taluqa head quarters Lunawada, Santrampur, Dohad, Devgarh Baria and Jambughoda. The qas of Dohad and Jhalod are presently varied with plains, forests, undulating odland glades and hills rising into fairly high peaks crested with snow-white artz. Pavagarh hills and the hills of Ratanmal in Limkheda are most interest-features of this district.

This district is rich in water resources and drained by seven important vers viz. the Mahi, Goma, Kun, Panam, Karad, Kali and the Meshri. Among em the Mahi is the longest river. Besides the above, other rivers are Chikani, han, Kalutari, Ujal, Chibota, Machhan, Anas, Kharod, Vishwamitri, Hadap, ki, Khatlaer and the Bhandara.

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Aravali metasediments covers the central, eastern and northern parts of district and represents the mica-schists phyllites, quartzites and lime sto These hilly tracts and the forested regions remained under the Khichi Chauh who migrated from Rajasthan and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Pavaga This region remained under the Muslim rulers of Gujarat who made it as th capital later on. From 1573 to 1727 A.D. it remained under the Mughals aft that it was deserted and became the hunting ground for the local chieftains.

Being an import[redacted]rict, the people of this region have played a interesting role in the history [redacted]dia. The existence of Pre and Proto histor site and the artifacts suggest, th[redacted]as inhabited by Prehistoric communities It remained under the rule of the Ma[redacted]do-Greeks, Kshatrapas, Gupta Maitrakas, Rashtrakutas, the Chaulukyas and the [redacted]aghelas in the ancient perio of Indian history. In Circa 12th century A.D. Panch Mahals became a bone o contention between the Chaulukyas and the Paramars. The Dohad Inscr dated 1139-40 A.D.[1] refers to the appointment of Rana Saṁkarasinha at Go haka (Godhra) who was commissioned as *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* to guard bordering district which was contiguous to the powerful kingdom of Paramaras of Malwa.

Among the people inhabiting this district mainly there are Bra Banias, Bhatiyas, Patidars, Rajputs, Kachhias, Malis, Kolis, Ghanchis, Bhavsa Chhipas, Sonis, Kansaras, Luhars, Bhats, Bharvads, Rabaris, Ahirs, Marath Barias and the Golas. In the aboriginal tribes namely there are Rathavas, Va garas, Naiks, Bhils, Ods and the Makaranas.

The Bhils of Panch Mahals are the oldest *adivasis* in the district. They a generally of dark complexion, well built and studious, their women are also sturd and have irregular features. B. S. Guha opines that they have peculiar fea of proto-Austoloid race. In remote past they used to remain isolated an opportunity to come into contact with the civilized society was rare. Th there are many tribes, but the Rathvas are numerous in certain parts o district.

The Rathavas inhabit in the Devgarh taluqa of the district particular the villages Navagam, Palla, Undhav, Jhinjhari, Poili, Kharoda and Kanpu Kalol subdivision (taluqa) they inhabit Popatpura, but in Godhra taluqa are in the village Chharia 8 miles away from the town Godhra. In Halol t they are found in the villages Bada, Talak and Ubharban. Among the few villages Poili is inhabited by the Rathvas only. Their population begins the village Navagam and all the villages viz. Farod, Ghogamba, Sagtala, Bhanpur, Gulalpura, Dhameshwar and Jhinjari, all are inhabited by the Ra except the village Padora.

1 *Indian Antiquary*, X, p. 158.

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The Rathavas are not original settlers of this region. They were invited by former Maharajas of Devgarh Baria about 200 years before from Alirajpur, pat, Chhota Udepur, and Kathivada. The Maharajas of Baria gave them d for cultivation and from that time they settled in the region. Being forest vellers, the Rathavas also used to depend more on the sources of nature. They ve sharp delicate features and the height of men varies from five feet six inches six feet. They are fair complexioned and have sharp brown eyes. Hunting the thick forests of Panch Mahals is an interesting hobby of the Rathavas. rmed with bow and arrow, dhāriā[2] and a stick of bamboo fitted iron roving in earch of their kill, all the men of the village move about in the forest. Their im was so accurate formerly which never missed its target. After killing the nimal, its meat is distributed in the party, they are not beef eaters.

One of the feature of the Rathavas is that they prefer small families. One ly which consists of husband, wife and children stays in one field. Like tribes, they are divided into various endogamous groups viz. moriya, raja, vakariya, kanesiya, tadevela, vamaniya, baidiya, luhariya, chagadiya, ya masaniya, mudavada, damariya, variya, ravatiya and tandvi. It appears heir group names are either based on the places from which they came ally or by their professions. Their names also mostly remind us of their culture viz. the names of men are Amariyā, Chamariyā, Shegalā, Ingalā, hiyā, Suriyā, Chandarujā, Odalā, Jhiliyā, Keralā, Tejalā aad Maniyā, while ames of their women are Jhillī, Mendalī, Jhampuḍī, Bhurī and the like. iably these names end either on the alphabet *yā* or *lā*. They speak their ribal dilect which is influenced by Gujarat.

The Rathvas construct beautiful houses in their fields out of mud, bamboos wood which are roofed over with the strips of barks and tiles. They are n good carpenters and known for their wood craft. Their houses are divided apartments like bedroom, gallery, cattle-ponds and kitchen-cum-storeroom. y are generally beautiful and nicely planned. They have a wooden surround- on the front of their houses. The verandah of their house is fairly large. oms in the houses are properly divided. On the front wall of the verandah, have always a painting which is called *piṭhorā*. They generally do not se the corn of their fields but in fair season they go out to work as labourers. save their earnings and purchase silver out of it. The stored corn is used ng the monsoon till the new crop. They prepare a storage out of bamboo and cow dung.

Each family of the Rathavas has at least minimum 5 acres and maximum 40 of land for cultivation. Their fields are always around their houses.

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2 Dhāriā is a small curved sword fitted on the top of a long stave. It is ffective weapon to kill.

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Generally all the fields have a small well. Their main crop is of cotton, maize jowar, tuvar, urad and grains. In their fields they keep their cattle viz. she buffalo, cows and bullocks. The old people who cannot work, look after th cattle while young couple go for labour.

Whenever they go for labour, they prefer in a batch of 20 or so an maintain the standard of their work. They are honest in their work and neve cheat or misbehave with anybody. In a way they are obedient and hardworkin each member of the party brings his own food for the day. Sometimes whe ever they work day and night, two three women of the group cook food for without any prejudice or envy. In this common cooking each member sh equally, but no wastage is permitted. Sometimes in case they are able to s some money, they purchase land for agriculture. They never prefer to uti anybody's vessels at the time of cooking or eating, everybody uses his or her o utensil.

Marriage :

The Rathavas have no joint family system. Son lives separate from h father's family as soon as he gets married. He goes to a field nearby an prepares his house. He is always given a land for cultivation soon after h marriage even if father is alive. After the death of his father, the son gets h share in his father's property, however, girls have no right in the property of the father. Even a widow has no right in the property of her husband, possibl because she is entitled to get married again. If the widow is old and she has daughter, then the daughter will take care of her mother, in case the widow h no issue in this case her relatives will take her care.

The Vāmaniya Rathavas do not drink but eat meat. If a girl of any oth group is married in the Vāmaniyās, she has to give up drinking. Simultaneousl if the Vāmaniya girl is married in any other group she starts drinking. Marria is settled always by the father with the consent of the boy and the girl. Courtshi even sexual relations are allowed in their society before marriage, whenever boy and the girl feel that they should get married, they bring it to the noti their father, who settles the marriage. To settle the marriage some respons persons of the village go to the house of the boy and girl and eat goat at others house, then the marriage is settled.

In the Rathavas, marriages are performed after Holi festival. The mar party comes to the house of the girl with their food, they bring a pair of clothes, stay for a night when the marriage ceremony is over, the party re with the girl. They bring a pair of clothes for the girl, and four seers of for the ornaments. Out of this one seer is for the ornaments of feet, one for hands, one seer for neck and one seer for the arms. In the marriage cere only bridegroom is given food and none else. During the marriage cere

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e girl observes *pardā*, bridegroom's sister's husband performs the marriage remony. The brother-in-law holds the hands of the boy and the girl and clasp em. Ghee (purified butter) and rice are offered to the fire during the cere- ony and within 15 minutes the ceremony is over.

The marriage party arrives to the house of the girl armed with weapons sisting of bows, arrows and *dhāriyā*. The bridegroom has to pay Rs. 300-/ 400/- to the father of the girl, but if after marriage the girl returns to the house er father after breaking down with her husband, the father has to pay the ea y back and the girl has to return all the ornaments offered by the bride- m. In case the girl elopes with somebody from her husband's house, the groom will be paid for the ornaments and a sum of Rs. 1,000/-. The next and of the girl will be asked to give feast to the first husband of the girl. dren born of the first husband will go to the father. If any man establishes al relations with somebody's wife, her husband kills the paramour. In the d marriage of the girl, nothing is done, except her ornaments are returned e first husband and the money is paid. On both occasions women sing and turmeric (*haldi*) is applied to boy and the girl for 4 or 5 days. The ony is performed with the beat of drums and dance by men and women. me cases the priest called *punjara* performs the marriage. The bride and groom in the ceremony take round of the fire.

ers and Morals :

Rathava girls are free to make love with anybody they like. Father of the ver bothers about the sex relations of his daughter as she is considered to roperty of somebody else, but the lover of one's own wife is never tolerat- all cases he is stained or bodily punished. After the marriage of the girl, tions become regular.

he Rathavas sleep naked during the night. In the morning when they go or nature's call, they rub their bottoms with undulated earth and do not their hands at all.

ayat System :

The Rathavas have a council of their tribe to manage their affairs. The of their council has been considered as the chief of their villages also and he led Patel. The chief is authorised to maintain law and order in the villages. s appointed by the government out of the respectable members of the tribe period of five years. He decides all the disputes of the village and for that se he calls a meeting of the villagers, there the disputs are settled in the nce of all. The village panchayat is entitled to settle all kinds of disputes s meeting.

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Dress and Ornaments :

The dress of a Rathava male consists of a *langot*, *dhoti*, *kurta*, *fataka* a *pagadi* They put on ornaments of silver which includes bangles called *kad* girdle called *kandhaura*, and a chain in the neck. They do not put on shoes all. The dress of the Rathava men is generally white but many of them put black or green kurta, white dhoti and white *pagadi*. Rathava women prefer put on red colour. Their *odhani*, *ghagara* (skirt) and *choli* (brassier) are of colour. Sometimes their *choli* is blue or yellow. They put on ornamen silver, in the neck they put on necklace called *vānsaḍī*, in their nose they put *kāntā*, in their ear they put on ring with a chain called *loriyān*, in their h they put on bangle called *bhoriyān*, in their feet an ornament called *kallā*.

They eat maize, *urad* and *moong*, prepare vegetable of *valora* and *pu* Their utensils are mostly of *kansa*. During the British period, when Panch M district was under the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Rathavas were forced to u go for forced labour called *begār* or *baiṭh*. On non-compliance of the they were beaten.

The Rathava women are also fond of tattoing. The figures of tat consist of a mango tree, peacock and the like. They undergo tattooing maidenhood, no tattooing is done after marriage.

Holi Festival :

Holi is a very important festival of the Rathavas. On the day they lit a fire. All the men and women get together around the fire. pujara comes and performs the pūjā with *ghee*, *kanku* and coconut. A pūjā all men and women sing songs, and dance around the fire but no colour is besmeared. Those men and women who have taken a vow, they over the holi fire, but their feet are not burnt. As soon as they come out o fire they dub their feet in cowdung. They regard the wood of *khan* tree sacred and holi fire is lit by the wood of this tree only. This continues upto fi days.

Paintings :

The Rathavas are known for their wall paintings which they call *pith* This is their tribal art in which they have excelled and specialised. As a m of fact every member of the family is supposed to know painting a participate when *pithora* is painted. These paintings are of large size, gen 40′ × 20″. Once it is painted, it lasts for more than 20 years, if properly tained. They are prepared in variegated colours, but the base of the colo the milk of cows. Before beginning of paintings, they go to seek blessin their *badva* (bard) and after this on the appointed day the painting is st The ground for painting is prepared out of the clay, which is sought fr

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ge named *Kada* near Pani mines. Here, near Shivrajpur, manganese ores found which is a chief mineral of economic importance and supports a major ıstry of the district. This soil is given by their bards for painting. After paring the background of the painting, lining is done with black colour, later other colours like red, blue, green, yellow, silver, pink, saffron and brown are lied.

The themes of the paintings include war scenes, particularly of mediaeval es, warriors clad in armour with weapons like swords, lances, daggers, asionally guns of old types, armed forces, particularly cavalry, elephants etc. netimes marriage scenes with bride and bridegrooms, birds of various types, n men putting on modern watches etc. are also painted. They never hesitate paint local way of sexual intercourse between men and women, sometimes ses in heat engaged in intercourse are also represented. Besides this one can l scenes of the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* or British officers sitting chairs in their uniforms or Mughal women coming out of the palaces carried palanquins are also painted.

Looking up at the arts and crafts of the Rathavas, it can be concluded that y have come out of their tribal status and have begun their journey towards advancement of culture. With the impact of western culture coupled with urbanization and industrialisation, their tribal economy has been strained, ısequently they have been forced by the circumstances to leave their forest mes to settle down as unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled laboures to seek their elihood. As usual, their women folk have also joined them and work together h their men in the city. Naturally therefore with the glamour of the west l fast life in the cities, their tribal culture has started fading away and it is t surprising if they become a separate caste in India one day.

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GAṆESHWAR CULTURE—A REVIEW

By

R. C. AGRAWALA*

Archaeological excavations at Jodhpura (Distt. Jaipur, Tehsil Kot Putli) the State Deptt. of Archaeology and Museums in Rajasthan proved very portant and pushed back the antiquity of so called Q.C.P. (i.e. Red slipped are with incisions on the exterior) to the 3rd millenium B.C. The upper phase this complex at this site has been dated as early as 2500-2200 B.C., on the sis of C-14 analysis. The beginning of lower levels of habitation at Jodhpura ay therefore be pushed back to 3000-2800 B.C. or so. The site of Jodhpura, uated on the right bank of Sabi river now a tributary of Yamunā (flowing near elhi), is hardly 100 Kms. distant from Jaipur town. Quite a good number of ntemporary sites of this complex have also been discovered by the department both the banks of this river (Sabi) and it was through this river also that ere was a downward movement towards the Gaṅgā Yamunā Doab. The utter ucity of copper objects along the Sabi in Rajasthan is of course to be noted th great interest at the present moment.

Hardly 40 Kms. crowfly from Jodhpura towards west was discovered by us 1977 a unique habitation site at Gaṇeshwar distant about 15 Kms. S.E. of im ka Thana town in district Sikar of Rajasthan. The site of Gaṇeshwar is arked by the availability of profuse quantity of Jodhpura pottery and that too sociated with copper objects in thousands which is now quite a new trait in dian Archaeology. The copper deposits of Dariba-Ahirwala and Chiplata are t very far from Gaṇeshwar. The indigeneous people of this area had really olved a first rate technique of copper extraction and preparation of hundreds copper arrow-heads cut from thin copper sheets. The number of such arrow-ads, of fantastic shapes, are quite unique in world Archaeology, specially ring the proto-historic period. Besides this, the Gaṇeshwar non-Indus people so made use of fish hooks made of copper wires, thus bearing ample testimony Fishing and Hunting stage at Gaṇeshwar during the 3rd millenium B.C., ough they had also started the use of wheel-made pottery, with incisions on the terior recalling Bager II ceramics. Dozens of such pottery-bearing sites all oud have been discovered within a radius of 30 Kms. from Gaṇeshwar ; the ople were still in the habit of using small size microliths, inhabited as they re on the banks of small rivulets.

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* C-634, Gandhi Nagar, Jaipur-302015.

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We have now to answer a number of important questions and problem emerging out of our discoveries noted above such as :—

1 Do have any trace of an earlier complex in Gaṇeshwar region when t people had not invented copper and when they were using only micr liths and even resorted to hand-made pottery at some stage ? discovery of typical Neolithic ground stone-axes in mature Harap levels at key sites like Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Lothal and Kalibangan does suggest that there probably existed a Neolithic com near those sites, even before the Harappan period. (I. K. Sarma's p in Archaeological Congress and Seminar Papers, Nagpur, 1972, p.

2 How long did the Gaṇeshwar culture survive in that region and was its horizon in the North ?

3 What was the mode of transporting copper and copper objects t sites ? In this connection it is worth mentioning that the Ga copper arrow heads (without holes) bear close affinity with specimens from the pre-Harappan levels of Kalibangan (2400-23 B.C.) in the North. It appears that the river Kantli, with its sour near Gaṇeshwar, used to discharge into Dṛṣadvatī (Chautang) after flowing by the side of Rajgaṛh (Churu) in north and then th was no problem in transporting both copper objects and copper in to Kalibagan and to further westward sites of Cholistan where M. R. Mughal has recently discovered 400 early and Harappan sites Rajasthan border in Pakistan, all along the Hakra River. There no copper mines near Harappa-Mohenjodaro, the Khetri copper was the nearest source for copper-supply to the people up to the of the Indus river. Tha trace impurity patterns of prote-historic In objects also bear close effinity with the copper ores from the Kh region of Rajasthan. The Gaṇeshwar finds have thus proved bey doubt the existance of a full fledged copper technology in Sik Jhunjhunun districts of Rajasthan during the proto-historic times, before the pre-Harappan period. The credit for this goes to the people of Shekhawati who had then attained immense experti copper technology ; they were preparing this copper sheets and cu arrow-heads of desired shapes with the help of some scissor type sharp cutting instrument. These people were exploiting the local they were not wandering smiths at all.

Who were then responsible for transporting copper objects and copp Indus people ? Were they the Vedic *Paṇis* associated with Pāriyātra moun or some persons involved in distant trade, like the Kulli people of Baluchis Are there any sites, on river Kantli in Churu and Ganganagar districts of R

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an, where both Harappan and Ganeshwar pottery may be available together ? as the Ganeshwar culture contemporaneous with the Harappan culture at some ige and what is the evidence therefor ?. The discovery of a round terracotta ke both at Ganeshwar and Jodhpura should not be lost sight of. People there d even made use of a painted pottery bearing close resemblance with the pical Reserved Slipped ware of the Indus complex. To me it appears that this rticular ceramic was evolved of their own by the Ganeshwar people in Rajas-an much before its use by the Harappans.

Existance of a stage, almost heralding transition from the use of stone to etal in Ganeshwar region also needs close scrutiny and further confirmation. ter all we have to discover the earlier stone age traditions which might have spired the Ganeshwar people in evolving copper tools of a varied nature and ferred to above. The total span of duration of the Ganeshwar culture in Rajas-an from pre-Harappan period onwards, should also be worked out in order to termine its fusion towards Haryana and Ganga Yamuna Doab at some later ige. It may also be pointed out that the rivulets Kasaunti (Krishnavati) and ohan, originating from Nim ka Thana Tehsil, once discharged into the main ver Sabi somewhere in Jhajjar region of Haryana and that all the more contri-ted to the fusion of Ganeshwar culture towards Haryana and Western U. P. some stage. The sequence of Jodhpura, on Sabi in Jaipur district, appears to be a later date than Ganeshwar when people at Jodhpura had shifted to plains d lived in houses built of mud bricks. We have yet to know the architectural ttern of Ganeshwar culture in the hill region around.

The Archaeologists and the Geographers have also rightly asserted that the esent course of Yamuna River in the east came into existence during the second llenium B.C., due to some tectonic upheavals. Viewed in this light, the ulti-te discharge of the waters of Sabi, flowing past Jodhpura, should also be ermined; Sabi then probably discharged into the Vedic Arvavat Sea which is w a remnant in the form of famous Najafgarh lake in Gurgaon District aryana), not far from Yamuna river.

Ganeshwar is really a fantastic site having yielded more than one thousand pper objects all of Indus complex and totally devoid of typical tool-kit of the er copper Hoards of Ganga-Yamuna Doab. We have yet to discover another of such a rich potential in the Khetri Copper Belt. The task is not too easy handle.

pper Celts :

Mention may also be made of the rich Hoard of 60 pure Copper Celts from neshwar itself; 58 of these measure 8 to 10 inches in length and are now pre-ved in the Central Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan Govt. aipur. All of them, barring one or two, weigh as much as 1500 grammes

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and bear round indentation marks on the top blunt edge; the number of such marks range from 2 to 16. This non-Indus device has recently been noted on numerous Copper Celts (of course lighter and smaller in size) of Ganga-Yamuna Doab, Kayatha and Navdatoli in M.P. etc. How this tradition moved towards Kayatha (near Ujjain, M.P.) needs proper investigation whereas the Ahar Copper Celts (2000 B.C. complex) are much lighter in weight and equally smaller in size. The archaeologist have also discovered fragment of a terracotts mould at Dangavada (M.P.) on the river Chambal for casting copper celts from local copper ore available in the region nearby. It appears that the Kayatha Copper with round indentation marks were the products of some craftsmen who had moved towards Ujjain-Kayatha at some stage and tapped the local copper ore of M.P. for their daily needs. There is absolutely no impact of Ahar Copper traditions in ancient Malwa during the proto historic period. The long and heavy Copper Celts from Padaliya (Chittor) are also devoid of any mark. Why so ?

During my recent scrutiny of proto historic copper objects of the Gurukul Museum at Narela (Haryana), I noticed the Ganeshwar type of round indentation marks on a number of copper celts and chisels of varied sizes and shapes. Its founder director Acarya Omanand Saraswati, a dedicated soul, told me that he had purchased all these copper objects from the markets of Rewari (Haryana) and Narnaul and that the local metal-smiths had further procured them from the adjacent dealers of Narnaul in Mahendragarh district of Haryana. It may be worth mentioning that the entire Narnaul Tehsil is located just on the border of Rajasthan copper deposits of Baleshwar—Dariba-Mothooka and that the Narnaul Tehsil is equally rich in copper deposits. Old copper workings have recently been located at a number of places in the tehsil Narnaul by the Geological Survey of India. In fact the Narnaul-Mahendragarh region appears to be an extension of Ganeshwar Copper Belt and it is no wonder that the Ganeshwar type of celts with marks were manufactured somewhere in the Narnaul region nearby. The Ganeshwar hoard of celts is the only one of its type from Rajasthan whereas the celts in Gurukul Museum at Narela are of a varied nature. The Ganeshwar people infact seems to have been primarily engaged in Fishing and Hunting—a fact which is amply proved by the discovery of more than 600 copper arrow-heads and copper fish-hooks from a single site. It was probably at a later stage that they had felt the need of preparing heavy and thick copper celts for cutting jungles and resorting to agriculture.

The discovery of vestiges of earliest ploughed field of the world at Kalibangan, in Ganganagar district of Rajasthan, is equally an important addition in Indian Archaeology though we are not aware of any remnant of a plough whether of wood or metal, which might have been in vogue during the contemporary period. The celts of Kalibangan bear typical Indus marks and

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sts their local preparation at Kalibangan from the copper ingots procured the Khetri—Ganeshwar Copper region; the latter are hardly 250 kms. away Kalibangan. On the other hand, Ganeshwar is situated less than 150 kms. Jaipur town and is easily approachable from Jaipur after a three hour drive Jeep or a car via Shahpura and Nim ka Thana. Narnaul and Khetri are st equi-distant (within 60 kms.) from Ganeshwar. It is just possible that Neolithic stage existed in the Ganeshwar region before the advent of copper t were probably the Neolithic-celts which might have inspired the shapes of er counter parts. This problem can only be solved after a thorough probe e entire copper hillocks and the rivers all around Ganeshwar and Narnaul.

A passing reference may also be made to the existence of copper celt with d marks is the famous Kurada (wrongly spelt as Khurdi) Copper Hoard Nagaur district of Rajasthan. This hoard comprising of 103 objects, s to have been manufactured somewhere in the Gaṇeshwar region which is ar from Kurada. There were also 6 channels pented bowls of Iranian shape ; probably they were prepared out of thin sheets for trade purposes with the ern world. These are equally unique finds from Rajasthan and such metal ls of 2nd millenium B.C. have not been available elsewhere in the country. Tin is not available in Khetri region ; the proto-historic objects from eshwar were naturally made of copper ranging from 96 to 97% ; without any t all. Besides this, the Gaṇeshwar copper arrow-heads were fastened een two wood shafts with the help of some white type of glue or paste as sive which shows clear vestiges of wood marks on most of the arrow-heads. cientific analysis of the paste will have an ample bearing on the use of nicals and wooden material by the Gaṇeshwar people as early as 3000-2800 in Rajasthan. The contemporary three copper arrow-heads from Bager, in ict Bhilwara of Southern Rajasthan, have been provided with 2 holes to n the metal piece to the wooden shaft with the help of some thin wire. The eshwar arrow-heads on the other hand, are totally devoid of the perforations. e so, the Bagor arrow-heads are only three in number and those too from grave of some foreigner who might have brought them with him. The Bagor w-heads, forming a part of Grave furniture seem to have belonged to a rent context ; they were neither associated with the local culture nor meant actual use by the contemporary people at Bagor, between 2800-2000 B.C.

The copper and ceramic finds at Gaṇeshwar have decidadly opened a new a in the realm of proto-historic archaeology of this country. The multi-ous problems facing us are of a challenging nature which must be boldly faced overcome through a consistent and co-ordinated approach. The entire plex has assumed immense national importance for further investigations by am of historians and, archaeologists and scientists of varied disciplines includ-geomorphology, palaeobotany, palaeo-zoology, ancient metallurgy etc. Dry

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bed of Kantli between Rajgarh and Nohar-Bhadra also needs to worked out, c surveyed from archaeological point of view. It was from Ganeshwar-Kh region of Rajasthan that copper and copper objects seem to have been suppc to the pre-Harappan and Harappan people at Kalibangan; the number of U Harappan copper objects therefrom is more than 50 whereas the Harappan cop objects amounted to more than 1200. The Khetri Copper belt was well wit an easy reach of Kalibangans through rivers Dṛṣadvatī and Kantli and that r the more enhances the importance of Ganeshwar Culture marked by a rich var of copper artifacts and pre-agriculture stage indeed.

The nature of birds and fish killed by the Ganeshwar people during the Harappan period also needs to be determined. Birds must have been shot quite in good numbers, a fact which is quite evident by the discovery of 600 copper-arrow-heads at Ganeshwar alone. It may equally be noted that was the greatest single source of meat proteine during the Harappan period revealed by the excavations at Harappa, Mohenjodaro and, Balakot (*South Asi Archaeology 1977, Congress held at Nepalse*, 1979, pp. 539, 297 .. etc.). thorough probe into the varieties of flora and fauna of proto-historic Ganeshw will therefore go a long way in understanding the domestic and social life of t people at that stage.

Equally important is to find out whether the copper objects were prepar individually by the Ganeshwar people or they were adhering to metal craft und some organised guild or a centralised agency. It is of course too early to haz any opinion till an extensive exploration and exploration undertaking is execu on a grand scale. But there are many important problems which need t attention of the archaeologists working on the problem of ancient culture Rajasthan during the 3rd-4th milleniam B.C.

The Gurukul Museum at Narela also preserves a few long and nar celts with both round dots and wavy lines, One big colt with three wavy on the top edge from Nasirabad of Roorkee Tehsil of Saharahpur dis (Western U.P.) is preserved in Haridwar Museum. A few thin celts from O.C.P, site of Bahadarabad (near Haridwar) of course bear round indent marks on the top edge as also on the Ganeshwar celts cited above. Besides the Gurukul Museum at Narela preserves a few heavy and long celts from Bh (District Hissar—Haryana) having intersecting linear motifs which recall tradition of parallel lines on a long copper celt from Pariar (Unnao, a Kanpur, U.P.) and Kiratpur (Distt. Bulandshahar, U.P.) ; the latter bears star mark on it. The tradition of these devices and manufacture source there also needs a greater probe., though these have nothing to do with Indus mar Even the celts from Kalibangan and Sabania nearby are completely devoid Indus traditions as regards the motifs on them are concerned. The pro

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ric copper celts with multifarious designs thus present a vivid picture of emporary art and technology. A few with animal motifs have recently been overed by Dr. V. N. Mishra at Madanpur in Shahjahanpur—Hardoi region .P. The exact connotation of the symbols and marks on them thus deserves reful scrutiny. A common source for all the above types of celts also cannot ttributed though greater emphasis can be laid on the Khetri—Ganeshwar—naul—Mahendragarh and Toshan copper belt for a deeper probe.

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The discovery of a Bagor type copper-arrow-head with two perforations from Malwa cultural horizon at Azadnagar (Indore Town, M.P.) is equally interesting and unique from Malwa. The source of Azadnagar arrow-head has yet to be determined; consult V. S. Wakankar's paper in *Malwa Through the Ages*, Bhopal, 1981, p. 90 for the excavations at Azadnagar. No such arrow-head is available in Ahar Culture at all.

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સ્વા ધ્યા ય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

૧. વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે—દીપોત્સવી અંક, વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક અને જન્માષ્ટમી અંક.

૨. **લવાજમ :**

—ભારતમાં....રૂા. ૨૦=૦૦ પૈ. (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—પરદેશમાં : યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે....૬ ડૉલર (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે....પૌં. ૨.૫૦ (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

૩. આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે વૉલ્યુમ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમ 'ડાયરેક્ટર ઓરિયેન્ટલ ઇન્સ્ટિટ્યુટ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨' એ નામે મોકલવું.

૪. **જાહેરાતો :**

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાતો આપવા માટે લખો—

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય', પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મન્દિર, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

૫. **લેખકોને વિજ્ઞપ્તિ**

'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં પ્રસિદ્ધ થવા માટે, પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા લેખકોને વિનંતી છે; શક્ય તો લેખ ટાઈપ કરી મોકલવા જરૂરી છે. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણી પ્રમાણેની જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલો. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મંદિર,
મ. સ. વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ
વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

સુરેશચન્દ્ર ગો. દેસાઈ
સંપાદક

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ON A GOLD COIN OF HARSHAPALA OF ASSAM

By

JAI PRAKASH SINGH*

I

The pre-Ahom coinage of Assam is only a matter of conjecture as actual mens of coins definitely attributable to regions of the Brahmaputra Valley vanting.[1] The recent discovery of the Gupta imitation gold coins from tek in the Goalpara District of Assam,[2] provide a sure pointer towards the ledge and existence of a gold currency in pre-Ahom Assam. A suggestion, ver, has been subsequently mooted by Dr. Sircar, that these coins were not d in Assam but were carried there from neighbouring Bangladesh where were current, for a few centuries after Śaśāṅka.[3] Since there is nothing to ort the minting of these imitation types in Assam, it is justifiable to opine they were minted for circulation in Bangladesh, from which region they are ly known. But their discovery from Paglatek, now establishes beyond t that a gold coinage was used in ancient Kamarupa, even though only sionally. The use of a currency, on a limited scale, is also suggested by ture and epigraphy. Thus, Bhaskaravarman is said to have offered money other articles of use to Hiuen-tsang,[4] on the eve of his departure from India. king at the close contacts of Bhaskara with the mainland of the country it is tural surmise to assume that he too must have struck his own coins. It's likely that he may have offered money to the Chinese pilgrim in the form of of other kings. But unfortunately, so far, we have not discovered even a coin of Bhaskaravarman. Then the Silimpur inscription[5] of the Brāhmaṇa īsa says that he declined the gift of nine hundred gold coins, offered to him ing Jayapala of Kamarupa. The coins of Jayapala too are not known. It ars, however, certain from the offer of Bhaskaravarman, the discovery of tek coins, and the evidence of the Silimpur inscription, that a limited gold ge was in circulation in ancient Assam, at least from the time of Bhaskara-an. The Dhulāpadung coins of king's Harjjaravarman and Vanamāla-an, recently brought to our notice, confirm use of a metallic currency in hom Assam.[6]

Over two decades back a gold coin supposedly issued by Pala king Deva- was published by Ajit Ghose.[7] The coin is round in shape, measures 1", veighs 180.5 grs. The coin can be described as follows :—

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Obv. : King standing facing three quarters in *tribhaṅga* posture, wea
Dhotī, long curly hair falling on shoulders, necklace, arm
bangles and holding an arrow in r. and a bow in l. hand.
Legend discussed below.

Rev. : Lakṣmī, flanked by *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* on either side, seated fa
crosslegged on double lotus and holding lotus plants in
hands. At top l. is the letter *Śrī*.

The obverse legend was read by A. Ghose as follows :

Top left : *Śrī*
ma

bottom, to the r. of the figure : *harshaḥ*
Vā

to the l. of the figure : *ndeva*
pāla.

Dr. Lallanji Gopal[8] accepted this reading, and followed the attribut
the coin to Devapala, the Pala king of Bengal. On the contrary, Dr. Ca
Sircar[9] has expressed doubt with regard to the ascription of this coin to
pala, the Pala king. He has slightly changed the reading of the obverse leg
tion as well. His reading accordingly is thus revised (1) *Śrī-*, (2) *ma*
(3) *Harṣa-*, (4) *vā-*, (5) *n = Deva*, (6) *pāla* 'the illustrious Harṣavat Dh
pāla'. These readings, however, do not provide a definite clue to the identifi
tion of the issuer of this coin. It appears from this legend that Harsha was
first and the most important part of the king's name who issued this coin. Se
parts of his name were—vāndeva and pāla. Hence the issuer of this coin
only be a king whose name contains either all these or most of these parts of
name. The coin, however, cannot be attributed to the Pala king Devapala
the legend contains another name Harsha, and he is not known by the
name or epithet. Therefore, under the circumstances the coin should
assigned to some other ruler of Eastern India. The palaeography of
inscription of the coin is Eastern Indian, hence its issuer cannot be looked
outside this region.

We are, of the opinion that Harsha or Śrīmā (m) Harsha, the first p
the king's name forms the most important clus with regard to the identific
of the king.[10] Hence the issuer of this coin must be looked for in one
few early medieval Harshadevas of Eastern India on the basis of its palaeogr
But before taking up the identification of the king, it is more appropria
discuss the next part of the legend.

The reading of the letter *vā* below *sha* of Harsha is quite clear and co
But the next part *ndeva* is not all that clear. We feel, that this part o

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ıd should be read *rmdeva* to provide the whole legend a clarity for a better erstanding and identification. The last part of the inscription, *pāla*, again is clear. This part of the coin-legend, therefore, can now be read as Varma-pāla. And the full legend can be read as *Śrīnāṁ Harshavarmadeva pāla*, ning ' the illustrious Harsha varmadeva pāla '.

There are two Harshas, known to the ancient history of Kamarupa. One ıese was a prince of the line of Sālastambha, and the other belongs to the dynasty of ancient Assam. The coin under discussion can be attributed to one of these two kings. The first of these two kings i.e., Harshadeva havarman or Śrī Harsha[11] as he is referred to in various inscriptions, was a conqueror and is placed between 725-750 A.D. This king, Śrī Harshadeva, so mentioned in the Paśupati inscription of the Nepalese king Jayadeva II, e Lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga, Kośala and other lands.[12] Jayadevás queen amatī is mentioned as *Bhagadaitarīja-kulajā* and as the daughter of Śrī hadeva, which confirms the identification of this king as a ruler of Assam.[13] nspite of the wide politico-military importance of this king in Eastern India, nnot be regarded as the issuer of the coin under discussion. Mainly because does not seem to be associated with his name in the known records of the y. Under the circumstances, the other king of Assam, a prince of the later dynasty, known to the dynastic records as *Parameśwara Paramabhaṭṭāraka ārājādhirāja Śrīmat Harshapala-Varma-Deva*[14] seems to have a better claim e issuer of the coin under our study. This king has a better claim to be the r of the coin under our study because *pāla*, *varmma* and *deva* are all known parts of his name from the records of his son Dharmapāla Varmmadeva, eas *deva* and *pāla* as parts of the name of Harsha of the Sālastambha line ot known. Besides, the Pāla dynasty of Assam, is known to have favoured ıame pattern at least in a few instances. King Harshapala is placed around 1095 A.D.[15] This king is known to have vanquished his enemies on the -field.[16] It has also been suggested that the authority of Kamarupa declin- Bengal under this king and his predecessor, as a result of which king mapala-Varma-deva is later supposed to have undertook a reconquest of of Bengal, as is evident by the grants of lands made by him in Bengal.[17] It so possible, that Harshapala may have ruled over at least some parts of al.[18]

The provenance of the coin under discussion is not known. Its palaeo-y, however, relates it to Eastern India. As coins of the Pālas of Bengal as as, those of Assam are not known, the attribution of the coin on stylistic ıds does not arise. But if *ndeva* is taken as a mistake of the die-cutter for *va* then perhaps the coin can be rightly attributed to Harshapala-varmadeva sam, as the Pālas of Bengal are not known to have used the title Varman

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for themselves. Therefore, the coin cannot be attributed to Devapāla, or that matter to any other Pāla king of Bengal-Bihar.

It is somewhat interesting to note in this connection that king Harsha Varmadeva is styled in the subsequent family records as " a source of plea and praised by the wise. Being good natured (*Harshapāla*) *Sarasvatī* enj the nectar of pleasure caused by the long sustained friendship with Lakṣm It is possible to surmise that the friendship between Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī hinted at by the poet on the definite knowledge of the kings gold coins an well known poetic reputation. The king was a poet,[20] which shows his int in the literary and artistic refinements. Therefore, it is quite possible th king may have utilized the services of a good contemporary artist, as is evident from the depiction of the king and Lakṣmī on the coin, to prep design for his coins. But being a novice in the art of cutting coin-dies, he more attention to the figure of the king and then filled up the blank spaces the legend in which he committed some inadvertent errors such as *Vandeva Varmdeva*. It is also worth noting in this connection, that the artist somet missed the proper order of the words forming the full name of the king inscribed them as Śrīmām Harshavāndevapāla or vārmdeva pāla instead o Śrīmāṁ Harshapāla varmadeva as it is given in the inscriptions'

The foregoing discussion, thus proves that the coin under discussion issued by king Harshapala of Kamarupa. The palaeography of the coin supports this view. It is possible, however, to assume on the basis of the pa of coins of this type that its issue could not be regularised due to some unk difficulties of the king. Its issue may also not have been taken up due die-cutters mistake in the name of the king. Possibly only a few pieces struck and due to the dectection of the mistake any further issues of th were dropped.

The die of the coin was probably made by some accomplished Assa artist well acquainted with the Bengal school of early medieval art but wit any experience in cutting coin dies.

References

1. Earlier some scholars were of the view that the coins called *Caltis i Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* is connected either with the Assamese traders or rulers. We have elsewhere shown that the *Caltis* cann identified with the Assamese Kalitās. cf. my paper in *JNSI*, Vol. XXX Pt. II, pp. 82 ff.
2. These coins have been published by R. D. Choudhury and M. C. D *JNSI*, XXXV, 1973, pp. 171-74; and also in *JARS*, XX, 1972, pp. 55-6
3. Sircar, D. C. *JNSI*, XXXVIII, Pt. I, 1976, p. 79.

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Barua, K. L. *Early History of Kamarupa*, Gauhati, 1966, p. 54

Ep. Ind., XII, pp. 289 ff.

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Cf. his *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 68, pl. VII.14.

Studies in Indian Coins, (Delhi, 1968), p. 383, Index to PL. *XVI* 3.

Unfortunately, Harsha, the first part of the king's name has not been given the due importance it deserves by earlier scholars. Hence the identification of its issuer has not been attempted correctly so far.

This ruler is mentioned as Harshavarmmā in the Heyunthal Copper plate Inscription of king Harjjaravarmdeva cf. *Kāmarūpa Sāsānāvalī*, pp. 46 ff. line 6, verse 6. It is possible that the full formal name of this king was Harshavarmmadeva. This name of the king can be suggested on the basis of that of Harjjaravarmadeva, as he is referred to in his inscription referred to above, *Ibid.*, line 22, verse 12; and also in his Tezpur Rock Inscription, *Ibid.*, p. 187, line 3.

IA, IX, pp. 178 f; *CII*, III, Intro.; pp. 178 f.

The suggestion of some scholars that Harshadeva, the father-in-law of Jayadeva, was a king of Orisa has been controverted by P. C. Choudhury, see his *History of the Civilization of Assam*, pp. 215 ff.

Harshapala is mentioned as Śrī Harshapāla (line 16) and as *Śrī Varāha-parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmaddharshapālavarmmadeva* (in lines 27-28) in the Khonamukhi plates of Dharmapala, *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 203-9. The Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka plates of Dharmapāla also refer to him as *Śrī Vārāha Parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja Śrīmad Harsha-pāla-varmmadeva*, cf. *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, pp. 159 ff., lines 28-29. Therefore, it seems likely that the full name of the king was Harshapala-varmmadeva. That this was the full name of the king is suggested also by the name of his son Dharmapāla-varmmadeva, cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 203-9, lines 28-29, as well as his name on the seal attached, and *KS*, pp. 159 ff. line 30 (varmma is missing here). This name pattern of the kings of this dynasty is further confirmed by the records of Ratnapāla, the second king of this line, who is also mentioned as Śrī Ratnapāla-varmmadeva, cf. *KS*, pp. 111 ff., seal inscription.

Cf. Choudhury, P. C. *History of the Civilization of the People of Assam*, pp. 258 ff.

Cf. Khonamukhi grant, v. 10; Śubahṅkarapāṭaka grant, v. 10; Pushpabhadra grant, v. 5.

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17. Cf. Choudhury, P. C. *Ibid*, pp. 259 ff.

18. The grant made by Dharmapāla in the IInd year of his reign in *Kañj* the *Dijinā v shaya*, identified with modern Dinajpur, is a sure indicatio the extension of Assamese authority over parts of Bengal. It is not in sible that Dharmapāla inherited a kingdom that extended well beyon present limits of Kamarupa.

19. Khonamukhi grant, v. 9; and Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant, v. 9.

20. *Kavīndra-vacana-Samuccaya* (ed. by F. W. Thomas, pp. 47-48) pro evidence to his poetic compositions, cf. Choudhury, P. C., *History of ization of Assam*, p. 295.

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REVIEWS

Au pays du Roi Vainqueur (*Śatruñjaya*), *Introduction au jinisme laique, dition littéraire des jinistes du Gujarat, Traduction francaise annotée du ıṣṭiśalākāpuurṣacaritra I-1-208-475 de Hemacandra*, by I. ARMELIN Photos by rmelin, published by Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1983, pp. /II-75-(16). (price not quoted).

Mrs. Indumati Armelin sets out ' to describe the basic Jaina ideals according he laymen in Gujarāt ' basing herself on the original Jaina sources as well as her inquiries among Jaina laymen in Gujarāt and Mahārāshtra. She avours to inform about ' one of contemporary India's societies ', i e. the arātī Jainas, through the history of its doctrinal and literary development, introducing a larger French public to Jaina ideas and complementing the and active tradition of Jaina scholarship in France (cf. the article by tte CAILLAT and Nalini BALBIR, Jaina Bibliography, ' Books and papers ished in French or by French scholars from 1906 to 1981 ', in *Sambodhi* 10, Ahmedabad 1981-1982, pp. 1-41).

At first sight the book looks composite : a long introduction of 97 pages llowed by the translation of a Sanskrit text on the birth and apotheosis of *Tīrthaṅkara* Ṛṣabha taken from Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* -208-475). The work concludes with 15 photographs of Jaina temples atruñjaya, the Jaina pilgrimage in Saurāshtra, in honour of Ṛṣabha. How- the introduction proceeds logically from the story of the foundation based an original reading of the sources, to depict the Jaina layman's ascetic ices (pp. XXVII-LXI) and their dogmatic bases (pp. LXII-LXXV) and with the problems of brahmanical rites, the liturgy of *pūjā*, the necessity of to monastic communities. The author stresses the importance of the texts written in the vernacular -Old-Gujarātī (pp. XXV-XCI)- for the layman, quoting with pleasure and sympathy the main works of this varied ture, borrowing even from the style of her models. She sees in the *Ṛṣabha ra* of Hemacandra the model which inspired later Jaina authors (pp, XCI- II). The sample text translated here illustrates ' the permanence of des adopted by Jaina authors who feel linked to the tradition established ıe learned Hemacandra'. The translation aims at impressing this fact on eader in a pleasant, even sophisticated style. The numerous notes would merited a more complete bibliography in which Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's Heart of Jainism ' for instance is not included, and it is regrettable,

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al of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 34, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec '84 issue, pp. 109-122.

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considering the amount of work visibly put into this study, that the Gujarātī and classical Sanskrit texts are not listed individually in the bibliography. A legend accompanying the 15 photos of Śatruñjaya would have been welcome.

F. MALLISON

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F. 30170 Saint-Hippolyte-du-Fort

Orientalism, Poetry and the Millennium : *The Checkered Life of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed* (*1751-1830*), by ROSANE ROCHER, published by M/s Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1983 p. vii + 354, price Rs. 350/-.

Professor Rosane Rocher's biography of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed (1751-1830), like her earlier biography of Alexander Hamilton (1762-1824), is an erudite exploration of the Orientalist's checkered life. Halhed, at once an Orientalist, a poet and a pamphleteer, was sent when twentyone to Calcutta in the service of the East India Company after failing to make a mark at Oxford. He undertook the rendering and compilation of a variety of Indian texts. quite unintentionally, which he was called upon to do by Hastings. The compilation was called *A Code of Gentoo Laws* and was expected to convince the Overlords of the Company in London about the sophistication of the Hindu code of polity and administration. The compilation hardly fulfilled the expectations, but it gave the young Orientalist his vocation of amateur scholar and also a life-long obsession with the antiquity of the Hindu scheme of Genesis. Halhed could never substantiate his blind theory of antiquity though later he led himself make of it the cause for an intellectual fight which ruined his political and social life. Halhed's most crucial contribution, however, was his *Grammar of the Bengali Language*. It opened up no new fields either in linguistics or in comparative philology which were the intellectual craze of Halhed's time. But it did open up a tremendous new possibility in Bengali since the printing of Halhed's text had required the setting up of the first Bengali printing press. Though Halhed might be called a pioneer in this respect just by chance, nonetheless the Indian men of letters owe him gratitude for his contribution to the Indian Renaissance which is comparable to Coxton's to the British Renaissance. To a student of British literature, Halhed appears like a character straight from the familiar pages of the Renaissance intellectual history, replete with its spirit of ambitious exploration and with a fatally wasted heroism. But to an Indologist Halhed must seem a faded portrait in the obscure album of the Anglo-Indiana. Halhed and his likes served a double purpose, unwittingly one should add, of strengthening the stranglehold of the Raj on Indian culture, on the one hand, and also of releasing the intellectual life of this subcontinet from stagnation of centuries, on the other

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hand. In Britain the colonial period of the Norman Rule preceded the Renaissance. In India the colonial period and the Renaissance coincided. This historical context of coincidence gave the life of Halhed and other pioneering Orientalists an unmistakable feel of ambivalence. Halhed, and the other Orientalists that he enthused such as H. H. Wilson and Sir William Jones, admired Indian antiquarian texts without ever relating them to the contemporary life and culture. As agents of colonization they had to partake the myth of India's cultural decadence. Halhed, combining the essentials of colonization and Renaissance in his attitude to his subject of study, set the tone for good for the Indological work that followed. Since Halhed, who pioneered the Western Indology, the disclpline has remained totally devoid of a sense of historical dynamism. The consequences of this have been far reaching in the field of art and literature. Had Halhed turned to anthropology rather than to antiquarianism, to the present than to the past, the humanities in India would have become more critical and useful.

Prof. Rocher, who has supported the biography with careful research and scrutinised documents, predictably avoids considering the life of Halhed in the perspective of Indian intellectual history. Her method, unexceptional in its zeal for accurancy of fact and adequacy of narration, prefers to make of Halhed an individual with a fierce and somewhat lunatic sense of honesty. Admiration has been the hall mark of both Indology and Indological literature. But, it would be unfair to charge Prof. Rocher with an undue admiration. The charge should be levelled elsewhere. Rocher, after all, is a Western scholar of Indology. That, however, is not the case of Nirad Chaudhuri who published a biography of Max Muller under the title *Scholar Extra-ordinary* (Orient Longman, 1974).

To begin with, Chaudhary has borrowed on a very large scale from the autobiography of Frederich Max Mueller, not always giving away the source. The borrowing is not, further, always enlightened, For instance, Max Muller tells us how aboat 300 types had to be set in order to print the edition of *Rg-veda*. In Chaudhary's edition the number gets fixed at 300 replacing the original 'about'. Plagiarism is tolerable though unsuspected and shocking in Chaudhari's work. What cannot be tolerated in his biography of Max Meuller is the failure to grasp the significance of the Indologist's influence on language study in India. As critics like K. Krishna Moorthy have pointed out, the influence of Max Meuller on the development of intellectual life in India was far from being harmless. One must trace Chaudhary's lack of perspective to the intellectual climate originating in the Bengali Grammar of Halhed. And if that is a viable proposition, one must sit up and think once again in radical terms the role played by Indology in the Indian Renaissance. Prof. Rocher's work, then, should serve as a useful parameter of an area that an alert Indian student of Indology still has to examine critically. But how admirably the biography has

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been written can become clear when it is read together with Chaudhari's biography of Max Mueller. The index to the former's success is in the fact that though the biographer has selected a relatively minor and easily forgotten Orientalist, she is able to give a more credible account of the hero's life than Chaudhari does with a more eminent subject to help him. Must Indology always remain a domain of the Western scholar ? one likes to ask.

Professor Rocher's book has received flattering comments from the British press. *The Times Literary Supplement* (April 25th) devoted a page full of glowing compliments to it. Partly the success should be explained with reference to the Biographer's skill in handling the subject, partly it owes to the Raj Nostalgia in Britain in recent years. Until, however, a Bengali Biography of Halhed appears, Prof. Rocher's work is likely to remain the most authoritative piece on the Orientalist's life.

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Haribhadra's Yoga Works and Psychosynthesis by S. M. DESAI, Pub. : L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-380 009, pp. 6 + 96, Price : Rs. 16/-.

Dr. Desai's three lectures on Haribhadra's works and psychosynthesis delivered in 1973, have been published in book-form by L. D. Institute of Indology. These lectures are concerned mainly with the system of Yoga, methods leading to purification of mind and consciousness and comparative study of systems of Yoga in India. Dr. Desai has also attempted to show modern relevance by discussing and relating them with contemporary psychology and academic trends.

Ācārya Haribhadra (C 750 A.D.) was a profound and prolific writer. His contribution to Yoga is very significant. He was well acquainted with different systems of Yoga, viz., Jaina, Buddha and Vedic. Hence his treatment of Yoga is comprehensive. In *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya* he attempted a synthesis of Yoga systems.

In 'Introduction' author has aptly said that "present day world needs unification of all knowledge because it is too much ridden with the abounding informations of a variety of specializations. Humanity to-day needs integrated human character. Both these needs can well be provided by Yoga and its techniques."

The subject, for the sake of elaboration is divided into three aspects : (1) Haribhadra, Jainism and Yoga, (2) Haribhadra's synthesis of Yoga and

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(3) A model for Yogic psychosynthesis today. In the first lecture author has tried to delineate how Haribhadra approached the subject of Yoga, how he tried to synthesise the various systems of Yoga by training their origins and how and by what methods he achieved a grand synthesis of Yoga along with a short review of his first two Yoga works. In the second lecture he has taken up Ācārya Haribhadra's two main works, viz., *Yogabindu* and *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya* and has tried to deal with the various topics and Yoga-concepts showing how they lead to psychosynthesis pointing out Haribhadra's art of synthesis. In the third lecture he has ventured to articulate a model of psychosynthesis based on Yoga and tried to synthesize the concepts of psychology and psychosynthesis without going into the technicalities.

The way in which the first lecture is introduced is fascinating for the simple reason that Haribhadra, the priest has taken a vow that he should become the pupil of him or her whose sayings he does not understand. He was taken to Jinabhattasuriji who accepted him as his disciple only if he embraced Jainism. His joining Jainism without a murmur and learning Jain scriptures draws out his innate catholicity of mind. Haribhadra was so proficient in all scriptural knowledge, that in no time he became an Ācārya himself. He had his own disciples and through teaching them he wrote a number of books on philosophy, religion, ethics and other related subjects. His integral approach to all knowledge and even to life itself, naturally grew out of his life and experiences. Integrating vision was already there along with his synthesising mind but it became more and more clear as he advanced in age.

In the second lecture the integral approach of Ācārya Haribhadra is described. The *Kārikās* of Haribhadra make it clear how he has approached the Yoga systems and how he has tried to come to an integrated thesis of Yoga, the *Kārikās* of 524, 525, 526 of *Yogabindu* and 207 of *Yogadṛṣṭisamuchaya*. The wise man should not have any distinction like one's doctrine or others' doctrine. The doctrine or the established truth (*Siddhānta*) should never be a matter of one's like or dislike or of one's whim. It must be above one's prejudices. It must be judged on its own merit. Truth stands above everything and it cannot be grasped if viewed with attachment or indifference. Of course an observation has to be made here. When the author says, "Truth has got its own criterion". If truth is to be distinguished from falsehood then truth is to be verified with external reality and world at large. It cannot remain just an internal content and criterion. The criterion is correspondence with experience and Reality.

Along with rational and intellectual grasp of truth it is equally essential for the seeker to inculcate moral and spiritual qualities developing the depth of character and intensity of soul. Eight factors for integrational approach are, (1) Detachment (2) Impartiality (3) Keenness (4) Right examination

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for truth (5) Discrimination between truth and untruth (6) Acceptance of truth and rejection of untruth (7) Moral courage to grasp the truth (8) Concomittance with the truth. The aim, of course, is to show and prove the characters of conscience as attained by Lord Mahāvira (*SARVA Jñatya*). Haribhadra is conscious enough to see that no overdoing be done in the name of synthesis and he takes care to see the opponent's arguments with regard to such integral interpretation of different prominent words and *vādas*. The opponent would argue and ask why each *vāda* has used different terms and different concepts. Haribhadra anticipates such an argument and tries to answer it. Sages and Seers gave expression to the same truths but they differed in their exposition in the different content of their terms. Moreover they had to see the difference of their respective audience and the difference of fitness or qualifications of the disciples too.

He also attempted the synthesis of life and other fields of society along with that of thought and philosophy. *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya* consists of verses written in Sanskrit. In the first *Kārikā* of the introduction to *Yogabindu* he emphasizes the *Tattvasiddhi* which is precisely integrated Yoga. The subjects treated in both these books vary to a great extent. In *Yogabindu* subjects like the unity of Yoga, the greatness of Yoga, *Adhyātma*, preliminary performance, deity worship, good conduct, penance, wordly bondage, spiritual enlightenment, categories of *Sādhakas* like Apuner bandhaka and others. *Japa*, self-assessment and introspection along with some basic philosophical questions like *Mokṣa*, Omniscience, soul and ultimate existence are discussed and expounded by Haribhadra.

Modern psychology in West failed to take cognizance of introspection and related data of *tapas* as it did not attend to the qualities such as equanimity, purity and reflective nature of mind. Dr. Desai has expressed the view that "The roots of Yogic concepts are the same ; each tradition developed its own style, its own terminology and its own exposition. The similarity of core meaning remained the same because the subject itself leads to unification of experience at higher stages of consciousness". (p. 14). It may be observed that knowledge and experience are not the only objects and aim of Yoga. Will, action, surrendering and sense of mreging and union with Reality or Divine are equally the aims of Yogic practise. In this way *Bhagvadgītā* elucidates three ways : knowledge, devotion and action—ways of approaching life and reality.

In the concept of *Tri-ratna* faith has esteemed position and it leads to synthetic knowledge. Full knowledge is possible only after the attainment of the goal. Even different categories of *Sādhakas* cannot have the intensity of faith, the same depth of knowledge and the same purity of action. Even then all of them are bent on having right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. Haribhadra made an unique attempt in the matter of seeing the common ground

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as to the means of realizing the goal of *Mokṣa*. Haribhadra covered seven common grounds of synthesis of Yoga and they are in nut-shell thus : (1) The goal of *Mokṣa*, (2) the soul, seeker of the goal, (3) *Kleśas*, the obstacles, (4) *Duḥkha* in the world, (5) the human efforts to get rid of the obstacles and *duḥkha*, (6) the tendency of worldly enjoyments and the Bhavābhinandi (7) lastly, the means of right faith, right knowledge and right conduct.

There are different types of *Sādhakas*. Only the *Sādhakas* of intense self-activity can have a steady progress towards the goal. Haribhadra mainly discusses the problem of an ideal personality in the book on *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya*. There are eight stages, i.e. eight *dṛṣṭis* in the spiritual evolution. There appears to be a correspondence with Patañjalis *Yogāṅgas*. The author has shown the same with those of Bhagavaddatta and Bhadanta Bhāskara. In some instances it appears to be far-fetched. For example *Anud Vega* in Bhāskara's list is not the same as *jijñāsā*. A *Kṣapa* (non-distraction) is not the same as *suśrūṣā* (desire to listen), An *utthāna* (Non-interruption) cannot be compared with *Prāṇāyama* in Patañjali and *Śravaṇa* (Listening) in Bhagavaddatta. Although one is in positive and other is in negative the correspondence is not evident. However, the subject of integration of personality, its subtle levels, has been elaborately dealt with and implications of Jaina Yoga and Pātañjala Yoga have been properly laid down.

In the third lecture enlitled, "A model for yogic psychosynthesis to-day", author has done a yesman service in evolving a proposal for synthesis of psychology of human personality and Yoga. Truth is not a matter without, lying upon external surface but a search within as told in the story of Hanuman. Haribhadra did his best to give a synthesis of philosophy as well as of Yoga according to the needs of his times. He could see that the only remedy for the secterianism and bitter conflicts among different sects and religions was the synthesis of ideas, concepts and their practice and that was only possible by an integrated philosophy of life and therefore he gave the grand synthesis both in philosophy and Yoga. Modern age is known for its scientism on one hand and sectarianism on the other hand. Inspite of immense scientific and technological invention and advancement people are not away from superstition, bigotry, discrimination and immoral practices. Man on the whole is in need of integration at present times.

Haribhadra has provided a key-word for such a synthesis of science and philosophy. In *Kārikā* 445 and 456 of *Yogabindu*, he states the key-word "*Caitanya*", i.e. consciousness and expounds on it at some length. His purport is that the *Caitanya* is the very stuff of very existence. In contemporary times Sri Aurobindo, in his synthesis of Yoga and Life Divine has expounded the synthesis and shown the way for integration of Man and evolutionary ascent.

Consciousness is the fundamental Reality. Matter is subsidiary and derivative entity. Integral synthesis must have the following characteristics :

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(1) It must be fully integrated. To say in different words it must be synthesis itself. (2) It must be pragmatic and not merely idealistic. (3) It must be faithful to life (4) It must be useful not merely to the *Sādhakā*s but to the common man (5) It must be simple as well as profound (6) It must be comprehensive enough to cover life as a whole and all its manifestations (7) It must be conducive of man's intelligent growth and inspiring enough to his complete self-realization and self-expression. The author has brought out a persuasive account of such a synthesis of science, psychology and yoga.

The limitations of psychoanalysis as thought out and practised in the West are mentioned. The scheme of evolution and line almost with that of Sāṁkhya philosophy is suggested. It muy be observed here in criticism of Sāṁkhya that why should ego be derived from Mahat. Mahat itself can be conceived as derivation from Ego. Subtle reality of Ego is larger than life and mind. If energy is understood as a quality of consciousness then its projective power can envelop larger parts of matter and life.

The attempt to combine joy, truth and action is commendable. It is true to say that Bliss aspect of Reality and human individuality are not separate. They are indeed united in concrete way.

Author has dealt with the subject of Yoga of Haribhadra and psycho-synthesis in lucid manner. It is expounded in simple and systematic way. Indian approach to psychology, science and integration has been laid down here in throughgoing way.

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The Poems of Tukaram : Translated and rearranged with notes and introduction by J. Nelson Eraser and K. B. Marathe, Pub. M/s Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, Reprint Delhi, 1981, Pp. 522, Price : Rs. 65.00 (Cloth) and Rs. 45.00 (Paper).

This book was first published in 1909 and now it is reprinted in 1981. The translator has changed the original order of the *abhaṅga*s and this book has divided the *abhaṅga*s as follows :—

(1) Autobiography, (2) Descriptions and invocations, (3) Paṅdhari (Pandharpur), (4) Dehu, (5) The nature of God, (6) The problem of action, (7) The sense of sin, (8) Remonstrances with God, (9) Prayers, (10) The conditions of Acceptations. (11) The necessity of Experience. (12) Triumphant Happiness. (13) Raillery of God. (14) Faith and Trust (15) The moral ideal. (16) Life under the influence of Religion. (17) Our

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attitude towards the world. (18) The saints. (19) Appeals and Exhortations. (20) Rebuke and Admonition. (21) True worship. (22) The use of image in worship. (23) False religious observations. (24) Our attitude towards Traditional Forms of worship. (25) Against false Teachers and Imposters. (26) Kṛṣṇa (27) In praise of Rāma. (28) *Abhaṅgas* employing various stories from Mythology. (29) *Abhaṅgas* employing images fromGames. (30) Various village characters. (31) *Abhaṅgas* employing the Language of common occupations. (32) The faithful devotee described under the image of a Paik. (33) World comforts described under the image of a Blanket. (34) Devotion described under image of a woman addressing her Paramour.

Seeing to this distribution, it seems that the translator has very carefully studied the *abhhaṅgas* of Tukaram and has followed what Tukaram wants to say. He has given full justice to Tukaram's thoughts. In the *abhaṅgas* on ' Autobiography ', he has given us the picture of Tukaram's life. From these *abhaṅgas* we come to know that due to calamities in life, Tukaram turned over to Viṭhobā's worship for the peace of his mind. Tukaram is not ashamed of his caste; on the contrary, he thanks God for it. Tukaram studied old literature and was doing *kīrtana* in temple.

While writing *abhaṅgas* on Pandhari, he describes Pandharpur as Vaikuṇṭha on earth. He says that no one can compare Pandharpur with any other city as Pandharpur is the only city which gives one Mokṣa. He praises the river Bhīmā on the bank on which Pandharpur stands. He describes Viṭhobā's form as राजस सुकुमार मदनाचा पुतळा (130) while describing the greatness of his name, he says to God ' You are unknown about the greatness of your name ', कमोदिनी काय जाणे तो परिमल । भ्रमर सकळ भोगीवजे ॥ (207)

Tukaram asks people to go to Pandharpur and have the goods in the form of *Bhakti*. He teaches that God is formless, colourless, qualityless, endless and beginingless, but, he is so soft and sober that he has taken the form of Viṭhobā for the good of common people and devotees.

Giving the qualities of Viṣṇudāsa he says that they are more soft-minded than butter, but at the same time stronger than weapon. मऊ मेणाहूनि आम्ही विष्णुदास । कठिण वज्रास भेदू ऐसे ॥ (893)

Tukaram asks people to consider woman as mother and sister. He further says that one should acquire the qualities of mercy, forgiveness and peace, because God lives there where these qualities are found. दया क्षमा शांति । तेथें देवाची वसति ॥

Tukaram criticises the persons who earn without understanding. He dislikes inequality in society; he believes in equality i.e. no one is great or low, good or bad. According to him, there is no space without God.

Tukaram's wit and humour can be seen in few *abhaṅgas*.

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Tukaram has written *abhaṅgas* on Rāma, Sītā, Hanūmān, Gaṇeśa, Rādhā, Satyabhāmā, Kṛṣṇa etc. In *abhaṅgas* on Kṛṣṇa, he has referred to Kṛṣṇa's childhood, his amusements with cowherds, eating with them, how he stole the clothes of *gopi*s while they were bathing etc. Even in *abhaṅgas* on games just like Tipari, Hamama, Hututu, Viti-Dandu etc. Tukaram has given philosophy of life. Tukaram has shown his respect about the great saints, by writing *abhaṅgas* on them.

By reading Tukaram's *abhaṅgas* we get the idea of society of his time. The people were following *Varṇāśramadharmas*. Besides Gaṇeśa, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa etc. the common people were worshipping Khaṇḍobā, Mariaī, Jokhaī etc. The system of dedicating a son, a child in Khaṇḍobā's temple called वाघ्या and daughter called मुरळी was in practice.

One can get the information about Tukaram from his *abhaṅgas* e.g. how he turned towards devotion of Viṭhobā, how he got the advice of his guru (Babaji Chaitanya) in dream, how he was doing self-realization, when Pāṇḍuraṅga was not coming before him i.e. giving *darśana*, how he blamed himself, how he was worshipping in loneliness in association with nature, though he was believing in oneness between *deva* and *bhakta*. He prays to God to give rebirth for devotion; and he explains the importance of नामसंकीर्तन.

Tukaram s philosophy can be understood by his *abhaṅgas*. Brahman itself has taken the form of Pāṇḍuraṅga for common people. There is no difference between Hari and Hara. God is everywhere. By devotion, one gets the knowledge of आत्मस्वरूप. Tukaram prays God that in any stage or condition, I should not forget you, I don't wish to have Mokṣa or wealth, but, give me the company of saints; please give me rebirth so that I can worship you.

The translators have used very simple English, so it is easy to understand. They are successful in giving Tukaram's thoughts and ideas to non-Marathi people in English. Even persons not knowing Marathi can easily follow the *abhaṅgas* and get the idea of what Tukaram wants to say. While translating they have used proper and correct English words for Marathi words. They have used appropriate words carrying the real sense and meaning of Marathi. The non-Marathi people can get the real picture of Tukaram's time e.g. the society, nature of living by the people, their customs, games etc. Translators are faithful to the original meaning. They are able to put Tukaram before non-Marathi speaking people. To translate such great number of *abhaṅgas* is really a hard work, but, they have done it very nicely, ably and carefully. For such a nice translation, we congratulate the translators.

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The Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa—Translated and Annotated by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare, Part I (First edition, 1983), Part II (First edition, 1983) ; Part III (First edition, 1983), Part IV (First edition, 1984), Part V (First edition 1984) in the " Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series " as volumes 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26 edited by J. L. Shastri ; published by Motilal Banarasidass ; Delhi, Varanasi, Patna ; pp. lxxxii + 389 (Part I), xiii + 395-719 (Part II) ; xv + 721 - 953 (part III), xv + 957 - 1223 (Part IV), xvii + 1227-1399 (Part V) ; Price not mentioned.

The project of the " *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series* " was envisaged by the late Sunderlal Jain of M/s. Motilal Banarasidass and in this series the *Śiva-Purāṇa* (Vols. 1-4), the *Liṅga-Purāṇa* (Vols. 5-6), the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (Vols. 7-11), the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* (Vols. 12-14), the *Nārada-Purāṇa* (Vols. 15-19) and the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (Vols. 20-21) are translated and annotated and the volumes 22-26 contain the translation and annotations of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* (=BdP) which is one of the three earlier *mahāpurāṇas*, the other two being the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* and the *Matsya-Purāṇa* and G. V. Tagare places it between 700-1000 A.D. (Introduction p. lxxxi.), whereas Baladeva Upadhyaya assigns it to a period from 600 A.D.-900 A.D. (*Purāṇa-vimarśa*, p. 570) and P. V. Kane places it between 300 A.D./400 A.D. and 600 A.D. (*History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. V, Part II, chronological Table p. xiii, p. 896 ; *vide* also Roy S. N., Date of the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, Vol. V., No. 2, pp. 305 *ff*)

Scholars like P. V. Kane, R. C. Hazra and Baladeva Upadhyaya have written on it and some doctoral theses have been written on this important *mahāpurāṇa*. It is a matter of great pleasure to welcome its English annotated translation. In the Introduction (pp. xvii *ff*.) Tagare discusses the following problems of the *BdP* I : 1. Title, 2. Extent, 3. Position, 4. Transmission 5. the place of composition, II. i. Text-criticism, II. ii. The *BdP* and the *Nārada-Purāṇa*, II. iii. The Old Jāvanese *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*, III. The *Brahmāṇḍa* as a *Mahāpurāṇa* : IV. Religious sects in the *BdP*, V. Dharma-śāstra-Ancient Lores—Science of Music, VI. Religion and Philosophy in the *BdP*., VII The Paraśurāma Legend, VIII. The Historical Tradition in the *BdP*., IX. The Date of the *BdP*. The fifth part contains the diagram of the Śrī-yantra and an useful index. Every part contains the general editor's preface, list of abbreviations and contents. The foot-notes to the translation are learned and exegetical and *variae lectiones* are also noted. In the Introduction (Vol. 22, pp. lxvii *ff* Tagare discusses the much discussed legend of Paraśurāma (*vide* also Pusalker A. D., *Studies in the Epics* and *Purāṇas* pp. 134 *ff*. Bombay, 1955). On p. lvii of the Introduction in the first part the translator refers to the " *Godharma* or the Cult of the Bull ". There is a reference to the *Godharma* in the *Matsyapurāṇa* and the present reviewer has discussed it in his " *Cultural History from the Matsyapurāṇa*" (pp. 63 *ff*., 69, 268, Baroda, 1964). The

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translator has raised an issue whether the *Lalitāmāhātmya* is or not an integral part of the *BdP.* and has pointed out its consequences (p. lxvi).

Dr. Tagare deserves our hearty congratulations for giving a lucid English translation with notes and for discussing some readings in the foot-notes and we look forward to have translations of other Purāṇas from his learned pen. The publishers also deserve our hearty praise for the valuable services rendered to the cause of Purāṇic studies by publishing this translation which will be useful to the students of Sanskrit in particular and of ancient Indian history and culture in general.

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Tilak, Gandhi and Gītā, by D. K. GOSAVI, Pub. : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Kulpati K. M. Munshi Road, Bombay 400 007, 1983, Pages VIII + 55, Price, Rs. 16/-.

Shrimad Bhagavad Gītā is neither only a philosophical treatise, nor only a text-book on Social Science and ethics, nor only a source-book of political science and economics. It is a guide to practical life. Its teachings are an epitome of the contemporary philosophical and religious ideas and the traditional praxis for spiritual amelioration of man. It analyses the constitution of man and the cosmos of which he is an inalienable part and vigourously advances a theory of dedicated or Self-less action without which neither the individual nor the universe can be sustained for the nature's teleology is so designed. At the same time, it emphasises on the need to fight on both fronts, within and without. The style and language of the *Gītā* are lucid, but the depth of thoughts is such that with numerous commentaries written by great Ācāryas and thinkers during the last one and a half millennium, the central teaching can not be said to have been finalised. Lokamānya Tilak also wrote expository commentary on the *Gītā*. Mahatma Gandhi wrote short essays like Anasaktiyoga and others and based their life on the precepts of the *Gītā* as they saw them.

The author himself being an humble follower of these two great national leaders and implicated in the programmes of action initiated by them and also being a Secretary of the Committee for writing the history of freedom movement, possesses the necessary authority and competence to discuss the present subject.

The author expounds Tilak's philosophy in the first chapter. Tilak enunciated his philosophical views in his *Gītā-Rahasya*, a magnificent commentary on

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the *Gītā* which he wrote during his incarceration at Mandalay and first published in Marathi in 1915 and later translated into English and other Indian languages. According to the author, Tilak's interpretation of the *Gītā* mostly follows that of Śaṅkarācārya with one major distinction. Śaṅkara, as the author holds, preached renunciation of action after realisation, whereas Tilaka maintained that action is incumbent even on the one who has already realised the Self. This statement by the author is, however, not accurate, since, though Śaṅkara, as merely philosophical stance, did speak of incompatibility of knowledge and action, yet his position regarding this problem is made abundantly clear by his own life of unremitting action, aimed at reorganisation of religious and social order. Radhakrishnan in his *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 63 ', states that the charge on Śaṅkara's alleged world-negating philosophy of leaving no room for civic duty and improvement in the existing social institutions stands refuted by the life of Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara himself makes the point in his commentary on the 18th verse of *Īśa upaniṣad* : " The knowledge of the Supreme Self and the performance of actions being antagonistic, how could a co-existence of the two be possible ? *This is true as an argument but actually no antagonism is noticed* because agreement and antagonism rest alike on the authority of the scriptures."

Tilaka holds that non-dualism means unity of life, otherness being an illusion created by names and forms, and works out its logical corollary that one cannot be false and violent to oneself in other forms. Truth, non-violence and the like are thus natural consequence of non-dualism. He accepts in theory the universal nature of ethical duties like truth and non-violence to which a seeker of truth and perfection cannot make any exceptions, but he allows in practice the maxim of tit for tat in a society of wicked and greedy persons, since no unilateral observance of these ethical duties is expected of man by scriptures especially the *Manusmṛti* and *Mahābhārata*. That appropriate retaliatory action, even a bloody battle in a crisis like one at the time of Kuru-Pañcāla War, with pure conscience and undisturbed mind becomes a moral duty on the part of a perfect man is the teaching of the *Gītā*, according to Tilaka. This is how he interprets the verse : *ye yathā māṁ prapadyante taṁstathaiva bhajāmyaham*.

" I deal with men as they choose to approach me ".

He calls this practical approach " responsive Co-operation " rather " responsive action " and prefers it in political matters to the saintly approach of winning the angry and unjust by means of truth and absence of anger. He also states that in the interest of the progress of human society, even the saintly leaders, in the times to come, may effect necessary change in the norms of ethics.

In the second chapter, the author states briefly Gandhiji's philosophy of life, as culled from his writings. He conceded that he was not much interested in abstract thought. Rather he practised and experimented in life the age-old religiuos and ethical teachings. Like Tilak he believed in non-duality in the sense

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that oneness of God and humanity suggested unity of Soul though there exist many bodies. He liked to equate God with truth and with pure, undefiled conscience. For him God was not extra-cosmic but a matter of immediate personal experience. One would be blessed if one could have a glimpse of that unitary absolute reality and hitch one's waggons to it. His aim in life was to realise, see God, and thus realise his oneness with all creation. In this regard he valued faith more than reason. Reason has its domain but it cannot lead one further. To him reason was not in conflict with faith but was complimentary to it and even transcended it. Truth and non-violence were the twin principle, serving as means to the end of realising God. He always insisted upon the purity of means, without which the end would become ever elusive. Unlike Tilak he would never admit any exceptions to the fundamental principles of truth and non-violence. His non-violence was not of a coward but of a brave man who was ready to lay down his life in its pursuit. He firmly believed that for the acting world, subjected to various gross and subtle kinds of violence, there was no way out but the practice of non-violence. *Satyāgraha* is the word that implies a technique of action in practical life based on faith of God that is truth and non-violence or love for all. He hoped to make *Satyāgraha* as the basis of politics the world-over; with a view to steering clear of all the dangers that bedevil the world to-day. His approach was basically positive, beginning with Self-restraint and ending in universal love.

In the third chapter, the points of agreement and disagreement of both these great national leaders are discussed lacomically.

Appendix I and II provide documentary evidence for certain statements made by the author in the body of the booklet.

The bibliography would interest the one who would pursue a study in depth of the central theme of the present work, which is brought out in an attractive format and get-up. The price could have been a little less prohibitory to the earnest and humble average reader, seriously seeking enlightenment the Gandian way.

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OBITUARY

Prof. Suresh Sethna

Prof. Suresh Mangaldas Sethna died of heart attack at the age of 67 on October 9, 1984. His sad demise has caused a great loss to the academic community. Prof. Sethna was the scientist of the first rank both in experimental work and in his ideas.

Prof. Sethna was born in Bombay in 1916. He had his earlier education in Bombay and Poona. He got his M.Sc. and Ph.D. degrees from Bombay. He worked in the Institute of Science, Bombay, before joining the University of Baroda in 1951 as a Reader in organic chemistry. In 1954 he was appointed as a Professor and Head of Chemistry Department. He developed research work in the field of synthetic organic chemistry and guided a number of Ph.D. students. He published more than 100 research papers in Journals of international reputation. He was the President of Chemistry section of Indian Science Congress in 1969.

Prof. Sethna was the Dean of Faculty of Science during 1962 to 1966 and Pro-Vice-Chancellor from 1975 to 1981. From 1951, for almost 30 years he gave best of himself to the growth of Chemistry Department, Faculty of Science and the M. S. University. The dignity with which he carried himself will guide many of his younger associates for the times to come.

He was interested in the dissemination of Scientific knowledge and gave many talks on radio, in seminars and in other scientific meetings. He was a Co-Author of a book on ' Great Scientist's in Gujarati for school-going students. He was also active in Marathi Vignyan Parishad, Gujarat Science Academy and other science organisations. All these organisations benefited from his association.

Prof. Sethna was a man of great personal charm. He was an extremely warm friend and treated his students with affection and candour. He was remarkably well read and exceptionally eloquent speaker ; his speeches were always marked by clarity of ideas, knowledge, anecdotes and quotations.

He is survived by his wife Prof. (Mrs.) Janaki Sethna, the former Head of Geography Department of M. S. University of Baroda.

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इत्युक्त्वा—

"सोऽध्वनः पारमाप्नोति तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम्[३१]" ।

इत्युक्तम् । ततो गन्तव्यं यद्विष्णोः परमं पदं तत्किं लोकान्तरमन्यद्वेत्यपेक्षायाम्—

"इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च परं मनः ।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्बुद्धेरात्मा महान् परः ॥
महतः परमव्यक्तमव्यक्तात्पुरुषः परः ।
पुरुषान्न परं किञ्चित्सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः[३२]" ॥

इति आत्मैव विष्णोः परमं पदमित्युक्तम् ।

तत्र यदि आत्मैव गन्तव्यश्चेत्तर्हि सर्वेषामेव मुक्तिः स्यादात्मप्रत्यक्षविद्यमानत्वादित्यपेक्षायां योगाभ्यासमिषेण "यच्छेत्(च्छेद्)वाङ्मनसी[३३]" त्यादिना प्रपञ्चलयपु(पू)र्वकमात्मदर्शनमुक्तम् । तत्र जगतो लयोऽव्यक्ते उक्तः, अव्यक्तस्य तु परमात्मनीति । तत्राव्यक्तशब्देन सांख्योक्तं प्रधानं स्वतन्त्रं स्यात्सा आशंका मा भूदिति पूर्वोक्तेन "आत्मानं रथिनम्" इति

Having stated this, it is said :—

"He reaches the end of the journey, that is the supreme abode of Viṣṇu". To remove the doubt whether the goal, viz. the supreme abode of Viṣṇu, is some other world or something else, it is stated :—

"The objects are beyond the senses and the mind is beyond the objects. Intelligence is beyond the mind. The great self is beyond intelligence. Beyond the great self is the unmanifest. The Person (spirit) is beyond the unmanifest. Beyond the Person there is nothing. That is the end (of journey), the supreme goal".

By this, it is intended that the Self alone is the supreme abode of Viṣṇu.

To remove the doubt that if the Self, indeed, were the goal, all will be liberated for the self is (always) perceived, it is stated, in terms of practice of *yoga* :— "The wise one should restrain speech in mind" etc. Self-realisation, therefore, can be gained only after the merger of the world. The merger of the world in the unmanifest is stated and that of the unmanifest in the Supreme Person. By the verse: "Know the Self as the lord of the chariot", it is made

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३१ तत्रैव, ३. ९
३२ तत्रैव, ३. १०-११
३३ तत्रैव, ३. १३

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मंत्रेण स्थापितम्। रथनिरूपकमन्त्रे ये पदार्था उक्तास्तेषामेवे" न्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्था " इति मन्त्रे नामग्रहणं कृतम्। तत्र शरीरं रथस्थानीयमुक्तं, तस्यात्राव्यक्तशब्देन महदादिभ्यो(भ्यः)पर-त्वमुक्तम्। ततश्च प्रपञ्चस्यापि लयो अव्यक्ते उक्तः, तदव्यक्तं कारणशरीरमिति स्थितम्। तस्मादज्ञानादेवोत्पत्तिः प्रपञ्चस्येति सिद्धम्। तथा चाज्ञानप्रतिपादिका श्रुतिः—

" न तं विदाथ य इमा य(ज)जान
अन्यद्युष्माकमन्तरं बभूव ।

नीहारेण प्रावृता जल्पा(ल्या) चासूत्र(सुतृ)प
उक्थशास्य(शास)श्चरन्ति[३४] " ॥

" अनीशया शोचति मुह्यमानः[३५] " । इति ।

" मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम्[३६] । इत्यादि ।

स्मृतिरपि—

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clear that there should be no confusion on account of the word unmanifest by taking it to mean the *pradhāna* declared in the Sāṁkhya. The entities which are mentioned in the verse that describes the metaphor of chariot, alone are stated in the present verse : " the objects are beyond the senses " etc. In that verse, body is equated with the chariot. The same (body) with the use of the word unmanifest, is said to be beyond the great self. Then in the unmanifest the world is said to merge. It is, therefore, clear that this unmanifest is the causal body. It is established thereby that the world is produced from the nescience. There is also *śruti* or scripture regarding the existence of the nescience :—

" You will not find him who created these beings ; another thing has arisen up among you. Enwrapt in misty cloud, with lips that stammer, hymn-chanters wander, seeking satisfaction of appetites of life ".

" Being deluded due to helplessness, he grieves. "

" Know the *prakṛti* as *māyā* and the great Lord as the *māyī* (i.e. the controller of nature). "

In this regard there is also supporting *smṛti* :—

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३४ ऋग्वेदः, १०. ८२. ७

३५ मुण्डकोपनिषद्, ३. १. २

३६ श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद्, ४. १०

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" अजोऽपि सन्नव्ययात्मा भूतानामीश्वरोऽपि सन् ।
प्रकृतिं स्वामधिष्ठाय विसृजा(संभवा)म्यात्ममायया[३७] " ॥

" अज्ञानेनावृतं ज्ञानं तेन मुह्यन्ति जन्तवः[३८] " ।

अज्ञानसत्त्वे साक्षिप्रत्यक्षञ्च भवति—

" न जानामि " इत्यनुभवात् ।

ननु अनेनानुभवेन न भावरूपमज्ञानं प्रपञ्चस्य कारणमवस्थात्रयेऽप्यनपायि सिद्ध्यति, किन्तु ज्ञानाभावोऽयमिति चेन्न । ज्ञानसामान्याभावो वा यत्किचि(ञ्चि)त्ज्ञानाभावो वा । नाद्यः । ज्ञानसामान्याभावत्वे कदापि ज्ञानोत्पत्तिर्न स्यात् । ज्ञानसामान्याभावस्य घटाभावरूपेण पटाभावरूपेण वा विद्यमानत्वात् । न द्वितीयः । यत्किञ्चित् ज्ञानाभावत्वे न जानामीत्यनुभवप्रत्यक्षं न स्यात् । अभावप्रत्यक्षं प्रति धर्मिप्रतियोगिज्ञानस्य कारणत्वात् । यथा भु(भू)तले घटाभावप्रत्यक्षे धर्मिप्रतियोगिज्ञानस्य कारणत्वं तथा अत्रापि धर्मिप्रतियोगिज्ञानं कारणम् । धर्मिप्रतियोगिज्ञाने विद्यमाने ज्ञानाभावः कथं स्यात् । तस्मान्नायं ज्ञानाभावः, किन्तु

" Though (I am) unborn, and my self (is) imperishable, though I am the Lord of all creatures, yet I come into being by my own *māyā*, establishing myself in my own nature."

" The creatures are deluded because knowledge is covered with nescience ".

To prove the existence of nescience, there is also the perception by the witness, in the form of the experience like " I do not know ".

If you urge that by this experience, the existence of positive nescience, present in all the three states (of waking, dream and deep sleep) which is the cause of the world, is not proved, for this is merely the absence of knowledge, we rejoin that it is not so. (In this regard, we would ask) is it the absence of knowledge as such or knowledge of a particular object ? The first alternative cannot be maintained for in the absence of knowledge as such, there will never arise any (sort of) knowledge. For such absence of knowledge as such is always present in the form of the absence of pot, or the absence of cloth. The second alternative also can not be held, because in that case the experience ' I do not know ' can never become the object of perception.

For the perception of absence, the knowledge of the thing absent is the cause. For instance, in the perception of the absence of a pot on the earth, the

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३७ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, ४.६

३८ तत्रैव, ५.१५

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ज्ञानविरोधि सदसद्भ्यामनिर्वाच्यं भावरूपमज्ञानं सिद्धयति। तेनाज्ञानेन परमात्मनि प्रपञ्चोऽध्यस्तो यथा शुक्ति(क्त्य)वच्छिन्ने साक्षिचैतन्ये अज्ञानेन रजतमध्यस्तं तद्वत्। तत्राध्यासो नाम—संप्रयोगसंस्कारदोषजन्य(न्यः) परत्र पूर्वदृष्टावभासः।

ननु दोषे सति रजतदर्शनात्, दोषाभावे रजतादर्शनात्, दोष एवोपादानकारणमस्तु, किमज्ञानेनेति चेन्न। दोषस्योपादानत्वे किं प्रमातृगतदोषः कारणम्, किं वा प्रमाणगतदोषो वा, किं वा प्रमेयगतदोषो वेति वक्तव्यम्। तत्र न तावत्प्रथमः। प्रमातृगतदोषस्य कारणत्वे अतः(न्तः)करणावच्छेदे रजतप्रतीति(तिः)स्यात्, न शुक्त्यवच्छेदे। न द्वितीयः। प्रमाणगतदोषस्य कारणत्वे चक्षुरवच्छेदे रजतमुत्पद्येत तथा सति रजतप्रतीतिरेव न स्यात्। चक्षुः-समि(मी)पवर्त्तिवस्तुनः प्रत्यक्षाभावात् अञ्जनवत्। न तृतीयः। प्रमेयगतदोषस्य सादृश्या-(श्य)स्य कारणत्वे शुक्तिसाक्षात्कारेण रजतनिवृत्तिर्न स्यात्। न च दोषनिवृत्या रजतं निवर्त्तत इति वाच्यम्। सादृश्याख्यदोषस्य कालत्रयेऽपि निवृत्यभावात्। न च दोषत्रयसमुच्चयः

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knowledge of the thing absent (i.e. of the pot) is the cause. Similarly in the present case too the knowledge of the thing absent is the cause. And in the presence of the knowledge of the thing absent, how can there be the absence of knowledge as such. This is, therefore, not the absence of knowledge, but the positive nescience, the opposite of knowledge, which cannot be characterised either as existent or as non-existent. By nescience, therefore, the world is superimposed on the Supreme Person, as in the witnessing consciousness, defined by nacre, silver is superimposed by ignorance. The definition of superimposition is " perception of an object seen earlier, at a later time, arising due to the defect of impression created by a contact (of sense and object). "

If you urge that since nacre is perceived when the defect is present, and it is not perceived when the is defect absent, let the defect itself be the material cause, what is the use of ignorance; we rejoin that it is not so. If the defect were to be the material cause, it should be said whether the defect present in the perceiver or that present in the means of perception or that present in the object perceived, is the cause. The first alternative does not hold, for if the defect present in the perceiver were to be the cause, nacre should be perceived in a delimited internal organ and not at the perception of nacre (externally). The second alternative also can not be maintained for if the defect present in the means of perception were to be the cause, nacre should be perceived by a defect of eye alone and in that case there will not be the perception of nacre at all, for the thing in immediate contact of the eye, like collyrium, cannot be perceived. The third alternative too cannot hold, for if the fault present in the object itself, namely (the defect of) similitude were to be the cause, there will not be negation of silver when the nacre

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कारणम्, यथा पिता(त्ता)ख्यदोषात्प्रबलान्माधुर्यरसे कटुत्वज्ञानं तद्वत् इति वाच्यम्। भवतु दोषोऽपि निमित्तकारणम्, उपादानकारणत्वे (शुक्ति) ज्ञानाद्रजतनिवृत्तिर्न स्यात्। ज्ञानादनवगतिमात्रं निवर्त्तते, न सत्यं वस्तु। सत्यस्य वस्तुनः कारणत्वे तत्कार्यस्य निवर्तने ज्ञानमकिञ्चित्करम्। न च "सेतुं दृष्ट्वा समुद्रस्य ब्रह्महत्यां व्यपोहति[३९]" इति स्मृत्या सेतुदर्शनेन सत्यभूताया ब्रह्महत्याया निवृत्तिरुक्तेति वाच्यम्। तत्रापि दूरदेशागमनं, छत्रपादुकाविधुर (त्वं), स्वनामघोषणा[४०]दिक्रियाविशिष्टस्यैव निवर्त्तकत्वात्। अन्यथा सेतुस्थानामपि पापनिवृत्तिः स्यात्। न च विष्णुस्मरणेन विषयवासनाया निवृत्तिः दृष्टेति वाच्यम्। तत्रापि तत्प्रतिपक्षाया वैराग्यवृत्तेरुत्पादनेन निवृत्तिदर्शनात्। तस्मात्सत्यस्य वस्तुनो न ज्ञानेन निवृत्तिः। घटज्ञानेनापि न घटस्य कोऽपि धर्मो निवर्त्तते, किन्तु घटानवगतिमात्रं निवर्त्तते।

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is perceived. Nor can it be said that with the removal of the defect, the silver is negated, for the defect called similitude can not be removed at any time. Nor can it be urged that the three defects collectively become the cause, as because of the defect called bile when it becomes acute, even things sweet taste bitter. It may be admitted that the defect is an incidental cause, for if it were to be the material cause, the contingency of the impossibility of negation of the silver, when the nacre is known, will arise. Knowledge removes the ignorance (of a specific object), not the true object itself. When a true thing is the cause, knowledge, in removing its effect, is helpless. Nor can you urge that the text of smṛti : "on seeing the *setu* (bridge) over the ocean,[3] one removes the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa" speaks of the removal of real sin of *brahmahatyā* by seeing the bridge, for in this instance too the sin is said to be removed only if one travells the distance (on foot), without using shoes and umbrella and declares (confesses his sins) one's name and does allied expiations. Otherwise, in case of those who live at the *setu*, the removal of sins will take place. Nor can it be said that by the remembrance of Lord Viṣṇu, the latent desires for sense-objects get destroyed, for in this instance too, the destruction is brought about by the creation of opposite attitude of detachment. A true entity, therefore, cannot be destroyed by knowledge. By the knowledge of pot, not any of the attributes of the pot are eliminated; only the ignorance of pot is removed. Knowledge, indeed, is the

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३९ स्कन्दपुराण, ब्रह्मखण्ड, सेतुमाहात्म्य, १८, १०५

४० तत्रैव, ५१, ७

3 This alludes to the great efficacy of seeing the *setu* built by Rāma, when he desired to cross the ocean and reach Laṅkā. This mysterious efficacy is described in great detail, at the section called *Setu-Māhātmya*, in the *Brahmakhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.

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ज्ञानं नाम वस्तुनो(नः) अपरोक्षसाक्षात्कारः। "आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्य[४१]" इति श्रुतेः। न चानया श्रुत्या "द्रष्टव्य" इति "ज्ञातव्य" इत्युक्तमिति वाच्यम्।

"भक्त्या त्वनन्यया शक्यो ह्यहमेवंविधोऽर्जुन।
ज्ञातु (तुं) द्रष्टुं च तत्त्वेन प्रवेष्टु (ष्टुं) च परन्तप[४२]"

इति भगवता ज्ञातव्यत्वं (त्व)भिन्नं द्रष्टव्यत्वं साक्षात्कार इति भिन्नत्वेन व्याख्यातत्वात्। तेन वस्तुसाक्षात्कारेण तन्निष्ठानवगतिमात्रं निवर्त्तते। तत्र यदि दोषः कारणं स्यात्तदा ज्ञानान्निवृत्तिर्न स्यादिति। यत्र तु पित्ताख्यदोषान्माधुर्ये कटुत्वज्ञानम्, तत्राऽप्युपादानमज्ञानमेव, पित्ताख्य-दोषस्तूपाधिः। यथा वृक्षजन(व)साक्षात्कारे नौकासंयोग उपाधिस्तद्वत्। तस्मान्न दोषः उपादानकारणमिति। नाप्यन्तःकरणमुपादानकारणमिति वाच्यम्। तथा सति रजतप्रत्यक्षं बहिर्न स्यात्। नचान्तःकरणवृत्तिद्वारा बहिर्निर्गत्य शुक्त्यवच्छेदे परिणमत इति वाच्यम्। एवं सति सर्ववस्तुप्रत्यक्षे अन्याकारेण परिणामो दुर्वारः स्यात्। अन्तःकरणस्यापि सुषुप्तौ

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immediate perception of a thing, for the scripture states : "The Self should, indeed, be perceived". It should not be urged that this scriptural statement :— "should be seen" is suggestive of "should be known", for the Lord has indicated the immediate perception as distinct from knowledge :—

"But by unswering devotion to me, O Arjuna, I can be thus known, truly seen and entered into, O oppressor of foe (Arjuna).

By the perception of a thing, therefore, merely its ignorance is removed. If the defect were the cause (of erroneous knowledge), it could not be removed by knowledge. Even in the instance of the bitter taste of sweet things, due to the defect of bile, the real (material) cause is ignorance, the defect of bile is merely an adjunct, as in the perception of movement of trees the contact of boat is only an adjunct (and not the cause). Therefore, defect cannot be the material cause. Nor can you say that the internal organ is the material cause, for in that case the perception of silver cannot take place externally. Nor can it be urged that having gone out through the mode of the internal organ, it (consciousness or knowledge) gets transformed into nacre. In that case, in the perception of all things, transformation into different forms will be unavoidable. And in the state of deep sleep, when the internal organ gets merged, it cannot rise agian in the states of

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४१ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, २, ४, ५

४२ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, ११, ५४

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लीनत्वात्पुनर्जाग्रदादावुत्थानं न स्यात् । न चाज्ञानादन्तःकरणं पुनरप्युत्पद्यत इति वाच्यम् । तथा सति तदेवाज्ञानमत्रापि कारणमस्तु किमन्तःकरणेनेति । न च शुक्तिरेवोपादानमस्तु तत्रैव रजतदर्शनादिति वाच्यम् । तथा सति रजतनिवृत्त्यनन्तरं शुक्तिरेव न स्यात् । दुग्धपरिणामस्य दध्न इव । तस्माच्छुक्त्यवच्छिन्ने साक्षिणि अज्ञानं रजताकारेण परिणमत इति सिद्धम् ।

तच्च रजतं साक्षिभास्यम् । न च चाक्षुषप्रत्यक्षत्वात्प्रमाणजन्यमिति वाच्यम् । प्रमाणजन्यत्वे सत्यत्वप्रसङ्गात् । अन्यच्च । चाक्षुषप्रत्यक्षं प्रति चक्षुःसंयोगस्य कारणत्वात् । चक्षुःसंयोगदशायां च रजतस्याभावात् । तस्मादनयैव रीत्या प्रपञ्चोऽपि साक्षिभास्योऽज्ञानेन परमात्मन्यध्यस्त इति सिद्धम् । तस्मादज्ञानाधिष्ठानत्वेन परमात्मापि प्रपञ्चाकारेण विवर्त्तत इति श्रुत्युक्तमुपादानकारणत्वं सिद्धम् । अतात्त्विकोऽन्यथाभावो विवर्त्त इति विवर्त्तलक्षणम् । एवं सति सुषुप्तौ प्रपञ्चलयः श्रुत्युक्तः सिद्धः । नात्र श्रुतिविरोध इति ।

ननु नास्त्येवावस्थात्रयेऽपि जीवः किन्तु परमात्मैवेत्युक्तं त्वया, तदशुद्धम् । जीवेश्वर-व्यवहारः शास्त्रोक्तो व्याहन्येत । तथा च शास्त्रम् :—"तद्यथा प्रियया स्त्रिया संपरिष्वक्तो

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waking and others. Nor can it be urged that the internal organ is produced again from nescience, for in that alternative, let that same nescience be the cause, why talk of the internal organ. Nor can it be maintained that let the nacre itself, in which silver is perceived, be the material cause, for in that case, after the removal of (the wrong notion of) nacre, there will be no nacre at all. It is, therefore, proved that like the transformation of milk into curds, the nescience is transformed into the form of silver, in the witness conditioned by the nacre.

And that silver is illumined by the witness. It can not be said that because it is perceived by the eyes, it is apprehended by the means of knowledge, for if it were admitted as being apprehended through the means of knowledge, it will have to be admitted as real. Moreover, for the perception by eyes, the contact with eyes is the cause. And in the state of contact with the eyes, the silver is absent. By this process, therefore, the world is also illumined by the witness and is superimposed on God through nescience. God, as the substratum of nescience, therefore, appears in the form of the world. Thus, it is proved that God is the material cause (of the world) as declared in the scriptures. The definition of illusory appearance is that a thing appears as something different without real transformation. Thus, the merger of the world in the deep-sleep-state, as stated in the scriptures, is proved. There is no contradiction in scriptures regarding this matter.

(We submit that) it is incorrect when you said that there is no individual soul in all the three states, but God alone. (For in that case) the pragmatic

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न बाह्यं किञ्चन वेद नान्तरमेवमेवायँ शारीर आत्मा प्राज्ञेनात्मना संपरिष्वक्तो न बाह्यं किञ्चन वेद नान्तरम्[४३]"। अत्र शारीरशब्देन जीवात्मैवोक्तः। "ममैवांशो जीवलोके जीवभूतः सनातन[४४]" इति स्मृतेश्च। तस्मादविद्याऽवच्छिन्नोऽविद्याप्रतिबिम्बो वा जीव इति वक्तव्यम्। स च यावदविद्या विद्यते तावदयं जीवः। स च परमात्मनोंशः। यदा पुनः विदेहकैवल्यं तदा जीवभावो निवर्त्तते, इति परमनोंशो जीव इति चेन्न। जीवस्तु अविद्यावस्थायां भ्रान्तिकल्पितः परमात्मैव न तु परमात्मनोंशः। न च परमात्मनो जीवत्वासंभवात्तदंश एवास्तु जीव इति वाच्यम्। यद्ययं जीवः परमात्मनोंशः सः किमविद्यावच्छिन्नत्वेन, अविद्याप्रतिबिम्बत्वेन वा। न तावत्प्रथमः। यद्यविद्यावच्छिन्नो जीवस्तर्हि ईश्वरस्य द्विगुणिवृत्त्याऽन्तर्यामित्वं न सिद्धयेत। यथा घटमध्यवर्त्याकाशं घटाकाशं, तथा अज्ञानमध्यवर्त्ति चैतन्यमज्ञानावच्छिन्नम्। तत्रान्तर्यामिस्वरूपेण द्विगुणिवृत्त्याऽविद्यामध्यवर्त्तित्वाभावात्। अविद्यामध्यवर्त्तिचैतन्यस्य

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transactions based on God and the individual soul, stated and approved in the *śāstras*, will be baseless. To quote the scripture : "As a man, when embraced by his beloved (wife), knows nothing without or within, so the embodied person. When embraced by the intelligent Self, knows nothing without or within". (Bṛ. Up. IV. 3.21). In this context, by the embodied person, the individual soul alone is stated. By *smṛti* too, (the same view is expressed) : "A fraction of My own Self, becomes a living soul, eternal in the world of life". (Bh. G. XV. 7). It should, therefore, be said that the individual soul is either defined by nescience or reflected in it. This individual soul lasts as long as the nescience (lasts). He is a fraction of God. When, indeed, he attains the disembodied state of salvation, his soulness is eliminated. Thus, (it is proved that) the soul is a part of God. To this, we rejoin : no. The soul, indeed, is God himself, illusorily believed to be such, in the state of nescience; and not a portion of God. Nor can it be urged that since it is impossible for God to become the soul, let the soul be conceived as His fraction. If the soul were a fraction of God, whether it is by way of definition by nescience or reflection in it. The first alternative cannot be maintained. For, if the soul were conditioned by nescience, the inner-controllership of God, by the modality of double presence, cannot be established. For instance, the space inside a pitcher is called *ghatākāśa*; similarly the consciousness inside nescience, is conditioned by it (and is called soul). There, inside the nescience, God is absent in his capacity as inner-controller, through the modality of double presence. For, as a rule, the consciousness present in the nescience, is the soul. This way, the form of inner-controller

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४३ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ४.३.२१

४४ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, १५.७

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जीवत्वनियमात्। "य आत्मनि तिष्ठन्, य आत्मान्तरो, यमात्मा [४५]न वेद" इत्यादिनान्तर्यामिब्राह्मणेनोक्तमन्तर्यामिस्वरूपं न सिद्धयेत। न चाज्ञानावच्छिन्नत्वस्वरूपेण य एवात्मा जीवः स एवानवच्छिन्नस्वरूपेणेश्वर इति वाच्यम्। एवं सति "द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते[४६]" इति श्रुत्यैकत्र शरीरे द्वौ वर्तेते इत्युक्तं द्विवचनं व्याहन्येत। तस्मान्नाविद्याऽवच्छिन्नो जीव इति पक्षः श्रेयान्। अविद्याप्रतिबिम्बो जीव इति पक्षे परमात्मनोंशो जीव इति न सिद्धयति, किन्तु परमात्मैव भ्रमाज्जीव इति सिद्धयति। तथा हि–प्रतिबिम्बस्य जीवत्वे दर्प्पणनिवृत्त्या प्रतिबिम्बनिवृत्तिवदज्ञाननिवृत्त्या जीवनिवृत्तिः स्यात्। तथा सति न "तत्त्वमसि[४७]" इति वाक्यं स्यात्। न च "तत्त्वमसि" इति वाक्येन तव जीवाख्यभ्रान्त्योत्पन्नस्वरूपबाधे परमात्मैव त्वमसीति दर्पणगतप्रतिबिम्बबाधे मुखस्वरूपवदिति प्रतिपादितमिति वाच्यम्। तथापि "जीवापेतं वाव किलेदं म्रियते, न जीवो म्रियत इति[४८]" इति वाक्ये

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stated in the *antaryāmibrāhmaṇa* : "He who dwells in the self, yet is within the self, whom the self does not know", (Bṛ. Up. III. 7.22), will not be established. Nor can it be urged that the Self that is conditioned by ignorance is the soul, and the same when not so conditioned, is God. For in that case the dual used by the scripture when stating that in one body there exist two, will be meaningless. To quote the scripture : "Two birds, companions, always united, cling to the self-same tree", (Muṇḍ. Up , III. 1.1).

The (first) alternative, therefore, that the soul is conditioned (delimited) by nescience is not sound. In the (second) alternative that the soul is reflection in nescience, what is proved is not the position that the soul is a fraction of God, rather God himself illusorily appears as soul. To explain : if the soul were reflection, in the occasion of the removal of nescience, the soul would cease to be, just as in the occasion of the removal of mirror, the reflection ceases. In that case the scriptural equation :—"That thou art," (Chā Up., VI. 8.7 ; 9.4 ; 10.3 ; 11.3) would not be (consistent). Nor can it be urged that the sentence :—"That thou art" seeks to establish that as in the case of disappearance of reflection, the original face remains, even so when the illusorily created nature of yours, called soul is sublated, you are God alone. For in that case too, the eternity of the soul, indicated in the statement : "Verily, indeed, this body dies, when deprived of the soul, the soul does not die" (Chā Up VI 11.3) will be

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४५ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ३.७.२२

४६ मुण्डकोपनिषद्, ३.१.१

४७ छान्दोग्योपनिषद्, ६.८.७; ६.९.४; ६.१०.३; ६.११.३

४८ तत्रैव, ६.११.३

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जीवस्यैव नित्यत्वो(त्वमु)क्तं व्याहन्येत । यदि जीवस्वरूपं नश्येत(त्) तर्हि स्वनाशार्थ(र्थं) मुक्तौ कस्यापि प्रवृत्तिर्न स्यात् । अन्यच्च । कोऽयं प्रतिबिम्बः—किं दर्पणपरिणामो वा किं वा दर्पणे मुखप्रवेश इति । न तावद्दर्पणपरिणामः संभवति । यदि दर्पणं मुखाकारेण परिणमेत तर्हि दर्पणस्य प्रतीतिरेव न स्यात् यथा[४९] दध्याकारेण परिणमितदुग्धवत् ।

न च दर्पणस्य केचिदव(य) वाः परिणमन्ते न समग्रदर्पणमिति वाच्यम् । तेऽपि किं दर्पणमध्यवर्त्त्यवयवा, अग्रभागवर्त्त्यवयवाः वा । नाद्यः । मध्यवर्त्त्यवयवपरिणामत्वे, अग्रभागवर्त्त्यवयवव्यवधानान्मुखप्रत्यक्षं न स्यात् । न द्वितीयः । अग्रवर्त्त्यवयवपरिणामत्वे दर्पणान्तर्गतमुखप्रतीतिर्न स्यात् । अग्रवर्त्त्यवयवप्रत्यक्षं च न स्यात् । तेषामवयवानां मुखाकारेण परिणमितत्वात् ।

नाऽपि दर्पणे मुखप्रवेशोऽपि । यदि दर्पणे मुखं प्रविश्येत (शेत्) तर्हि दर्पणे पर्वतप्रवेशेन दर्पणे गौरवत्वं स्यात्। तथा सति दर्पण(णं) वोढुं हस्तेन न शक्येत । कस्तूरिप्रतिबिम्बाद्दर्पणे सौरभत्वञ्च स्यात् ।

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contradicted. If the nature of soul were to be destroyed, none would be engaged in (the attainment of) emancipation. Moreover, what is this reflection ? whether it is transformation of mirror or entrance of face into the mirror ? The transformation of mirror, in the first instance, is impossible. If the mirror were transformed into the shape of the face, the perception of mirror will cease, as is the case of milk when it is transformed into curds.

Nor can it be urged that only some portions of the mirror are transformed, not the whole of it. Whether those portions are of the middle of the mirror or of its surface ? The first [alternative] cannot hold. For in the case of the transformation of the middle portion of the mirror, due to obstruction of the surface portion, the face cannot be perceived. Nor the second (alternative can be maintained). For if the surface portion were transformed, neither the face can be seen inside the mirror, nor the surface portion can be perceived, because it is that very portion which is transformed in the shape of face.

(The alternative of) the entrance of the face into the mirror can also not be maintained. If face were to enter the mirror, in the case of the entrance of a mountain, the gravity of mirror will increase and then it could not be held by hand. And there will be fragrance in the mirror from the reflection of musk.

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४९ "यथा" इति पदमनावश्यकम् ।

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कथं तर्हि दर्पणे मुखप्रतीतिरिति चेत् शृणु। नेत्रात्प्रसारितानां नेत्ररश्मि(श्मी)नां दर्पणादिस्वच्छद्रव्येऽभिघातो जायते। ततः परावृत्य रश्मयः स्वं मुखमेव पश्यन्ति। तत्र पुरुषस्य दर्पणे मुखमिति भ्रमो जायते। तथा चोक्तं वार्त्तिककारैः—

"दर्पणाभिहता दृष्टिः परावृत्य स्वमाननम्।
व्याप्नुवन्त्याभिमुख्येन व्यत्यस्थं(स्तं) दर्शयेन्मुखम्[५०]" इति।

ननु अत्राप्यन्तर्यामित्वं न सिद्ध्येतेति चेन्न। यथैकस्मिन्मुखे बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बाभिमानद्वयवदत्रापि एकस्मिन्ब्रह्मणि जीवेश्वराभिमानद्वयस्य संभवात्। न चास्मिन(न्न)पि पक्षे अवच्छिन्नवज्जीवस्य परमात्मनोंशत्वं भवत्विति वाच्यम्। यथा स्वल्पेऽप्यादर्शे समग्रपर्वतप्रतिबिम्बो जायते तद्वत् समग्रपरमात्मनो प्रतिबिम्बाभिमानो जीवः स्यात्। तथा च दर्पणे प्रतिबिम्बासंभवान्न प्रतिबिम्बो जायते तद्वत् दार्ष्टान्तिकेऽपि। तथा हि—अद्वितीयपरमात्मैवाहं जीव इत्यज्ञानान्मन्यते। न चाद्वितीये परमात्मनि कथमज्ञानं स्वप्रकाशत्वादिति वाच्यम्। अयं

How then (if you ask) is the face perceived in the mirror ? (We rejoin): listen. In fact, the optical rays extending from the eye make an impact on (transparent and) clean-surfaced objects like the mirror and others. Reverting there—from the rays see one's own face. In this situation, a man is subjected to an illusion that the face is inside the mirror. To explain : it has been stated by the Vārttikakāra (Sureśvarācārya) : " The sight making an impact on the mirror, and having reverted towards one's own face, pervades it, and shows it in transverse profile " (*Br. Up. Bhā. Vā.* I. 4.618).

(If you urge that) but in this schematic theory too, the inner-controllership is not established; we rejoin : no. As, with regard to single face, there exist the twin conceits of the prototype and the reflection, even so in the non-dual Brahman, the twin conceits of soul and God are possible. Nor should it be urged that even in this theory, let the soul be deemed as a fraction of God since, however, it is as if defined anyway. As even in a tiny mirror, there appears the reflection of the whole of a mountain; similarly the soul will be the conceit of reflection of the whole of the God. But (as has already been proved) there is no reflection on account of the impossibility of reflection in the mirror; similar is the case in the present theory. To explain : the non-dual Supreme Person alone, through ignorance, believes, ' I am soul '. Nor can it be urged how in the non-dual God can there arise ignorance, since He is self-luminous. This fallacious

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५० श्रीसुरेश्वराचार्यकृतं "बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद् भाष्यवर्त्तिकम्," १.४.६१८ सम्पा. आगाशे काशीनाथशास्त्री, आनन्दाश्रमप्रेस, पूना, १८९४, पृष्ठम्, ५५७

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कुतर्कस्तु न जानामीत्यनुभवान्निराकरणीयः । विस्तरेणास्य कुतर्कस्य निराकरणं तुः—

" स्वप्रकाशे कुतोऽविद्या, तां विना कथमावृत्तिः(तिः) ।
इत्यादि तर्कजालानि स्वानुभु(भू)तिः ग्रसत्यसौ [५१] ॥

इत्यादिना पञ्चदश्यां कृतमिति । तस्मान्नावच्छिन्नः प्रतिबिम्बो वा जीवः किन्तु प्रतिबिम्बाभिमानवान् परमात्मैव भ्रान्त्या जीवत्वं प्राप्तो भ्रान्त्या(न्त्य)पगमे परमात्मैवेति सिद्धम ।

ननु परमात्मा स्वस्मिन् जीवत्वं जानाति न वा इति । जानाति चेत्तर्हि जीवधर्म-दुःखादिमत्त्वेन परमात्मत्वं न सिद्ध्येत् । न जानातीति चेत्तर्हि परमात्मनि सर्वज्ञत्वं न स्यादित्यतः परमात्मनोऽतिरिक्तः परमात्मनोंऽशः जीवोऽवश्यमङ्गीकर्तव्य इति चेन्न । अयं परमात्मा स(स्व)स्मिन् जीवत्वं जानात्येव, अतो न सर्वज्ञत्वहानिः । न च तर्हि जीवधर्म-दुःखादिमत्त्वं स्यादिति वाच्यम् । उपाधिभेदात् तादृशाभिमानाभावात् । न दुःखादिमत्त्वं

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argument should be laid at rest by the experience : 'I do not know'. A detailed refutation of this fallacious argument is attempted (by Vidyāraṇya Muni) in his work *Pañcadaśī* as follows :—

" The host of (fallacious) arguments like, how can there arise nescience in the self-luminous (God) and how in its absence, can there be transmigration and others, are swallowed (destroyed) by (direct) personal experience ". (Pa. VI.28.)

It is proved, therefore, that the soul, is neither conditioned nor is reflection, but is God himself who attained soulness through illusory conceit in the reflection and when that illusion is eliminated, remains as God alone.

But does God know the (adventitious) soul-nature within himself or not ? If he knows, He will cease to be God because of the qualities peculiar to the soul like unhappiness and others. If He does not know, there will not be the omniscience, characteristic of God, in Him. It is, therefore, necessary that the soul, distinct from God and as a fraction of God should be admitted. (If you argue thus), we rejoin : no. (For) this God does know the soul-nature within Himself. He, therefore, is not devoid of omniscience. Nor can it be urged that in that case there will arise the contingency of unhappiness and the like in Him, which are the characteristics of a soul. For that sort of conceit is absent (in him) because of the difference of adjuncts. Unhappiness and the like, do not belong to

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५१ पञ्चदशी, ६, २८

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परमात्मनः । यथा कश्चित्पुरुषो नेत्रे स्वप्रतिबिम्बं पश्यति, तस्मिन् प्रतिबिम्बाख्यं स्वं स्वरूपमणुपरिमाणश्यामत्वादिधर्मत्वं पश्यन(न्न)पि वास्तवस्वरूपस्यापरोक्षसाक्षात्कारत्वेन, भ्रान्तिप्रकल्पितं स्वल्पपरिमाणश्यामत्वादिमत्त्वं न मदीयं वास्तवं स्वरूपमिति मन्यते । तथा परमात्मापि जीवधर्मदुःखादिमत्त्वं भ्रान्तिप्रकल्पितं, न वास्तवमिति पश्यति, अतो न कोऽपि दोषः ।

न च शारीरः आत्मा प्राज्ञेनात्मना संपरिष्वक्त इत्यत्र जीवेश्वरयोर्भेदोक्ति(:) व्याहता स्यादिति वाच्यम् । तत्रापि ज्योतिर्ब्राह्मणशारीरब्राह्मणाभ्यामपि नायं वस्तुतो जीवः किन्तु परमात्मैवेति जीवानुवादेन परमात्मैवोपदिश्यते । तथा हि—'कतम आत्मे'ति जनकेन पृष्टो याज्ञवल्क्य आह—"योऽयं विज्ञानमयः[५२]" इत्यादिना । तत्र योऽयं विज्ञानमय इति जीवात्मानमारभ्य तत्र जीवात्मनि देहधर्मवत्त्वं सर्वैरनुभूयते, तत्र याज्ञवल्क्येन लोकानुवादेन तत्तदवस्थाया असंस्पर्शत्वम् "स यदत्र किञ्चित्पश्यति, अनन्वागतस्तेन भवति, असङ्गो ह्ययं पुरुष[५३]" इत्यादिनोपदिष्टम् । अवस्थात्रयादिदेहधर्मविशिष्टत्वमस्य भ्रान्तिप्रकल्पितं, स्वाभाविकं

God. For instance, a man sees his own image (reflected) in the eye (of another). He, though therein, actually seeing his own form, called reflection, endowed with qualities like atomic size, darkness and others, because of the direct experience of his real form, believes that the (reflected) form, atomic in size and dark, created as it is through illusion, is not my real nature. Similarly God too apprehends that the qualities of soul, like unhappiness and others are created through illusion and are (therefore,) not real. There is, therefore, no fault at all (in our theory of soul).

Nor can it be urged that (in that case) the statement of difference made in in respect of ' the embodied soul embraced by the intelligent Self ', will be contradicted. There too by the *jyotirbrāhmaṇa* (section dealing with the self-luminous Supreme Person) and the *śārīrabrāhmaṇa* (section dealing with the embodied soul) God alone is made the subject of instruction, by way of referring to the soul, asserting thereby that this is not really soul but God himself. To explain : questioned by Janaka : ' which is the self ', Yājñavalkya replied : ' He who consists of knowledge ' (Bṛ Up. IV. 3.7) etc. In this context, having introduced the topic of the soul, as with regard to this soul, the characteristics of the body are experienced by all, Yājñavalkya, while referring to the common experience of the people, instructs (in fact) the unaffected nature (of the soul) in several states (like waking, dream and deep sleep) by (quoting the scripture) : "Whatever he sees in that state, he is not followed (affected) by it, for this person is

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५२ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ४.३.७. ५३ तत्रैव, ४.३.१५.

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तु देहधर्मावस्थात्रयादिविनिर्मुक्तत्वम् । पुनस्तस्यैवात्मनोऽविद्यावस्थायां भ्रान्तिप्रकल्पितं मरणादिकं, लोकान्तरगमनञ्चोक्तम्—" तद्यथाऽनः सुसमाहितमुत्सर्जद्यायादेवमेवाय[५३] शारीर आत्मा प्राज्ञेनात्मनाऽन्वारूढ उत्सर्जत्(न्)[५४] याति " इत्यादिना, " तद्यथा पेशस्कारी पेशसो मात्राम(मु)पादाय[५५] " इत्यन्तेन तस्यैव पुनर्ज्ञानावस्थायामशरीरत्वमुक्तम्—" तद्यथाऽहिनिर्ल्व (र्व) यनी वल्मि(ल्मी)के मृता प्रत्यस्ता शयीतैवमेवेदं[५६] शरीरं शेते। य(अ)थायमनस्थिकोऽशरीरः प्राज्ञ आत्मा ब्रह्मैव[५७] लोक " इत्यादिना । पुनस्तदात्मविदुषो जगत्कर्तृत्वमुक्तम् :

यस्यानुवितः प्रतिबुद्ध आत्मा अस्मिन् संदेहे[५७] गहने प्रविष्टः ।
स विश्वकृत्स हि सर्वस्य कर्ता तस्य लोकः स उ लोक एव[५८] " ॥

इत्यादिना । अग्रे पुनरेतस्यैवात्मनो जगत्कर्तृत्वमुक्तम्—" स वा एष महानजः (आत्मा) योऽयं विज्ञानमयः प्राणेषु । य एषोऽन्तर्हृदय आकाशस्तस्मिन् शे (ञ्छे) ते । सर्व्वस्य वशी । सर्व्वस्येशानः सर्व्वस्याधिपतिः । सर्व्वमिदं प्रशास्ति यदिदं किञ्च ।

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unattached (by nature)", (Bṛ. Up. IV.3.15. *passim*). Of this (soul) the qualifications like the three states (which are the) characteristics of the body, are created by illusion ; natural, indeed, is his state free from the bodily characteristics of the three states and the like. Again, of this same soul, death and departure to other worlds, are said, all in the state (under the influence) of nescience and created through illusion, beginning with : " Just as a heavily loaded cart moves creaking, even so the embodied self, mounted by the intelligent Self, moves creaking ", (Bṛ. Up. IV.3.35), and ending with : " And as a goldsmith, taking a piece of gold ", etc. (Bṛ Up IV.4.4). Of him alone, again, in the state of enlightenment, is said the disembodied nature : " Just as the slough of a snake lies on an anthill, dead, cast off, even so lies this body. But this boneless disembodied, intelligent Self is the Brahman alone ", (Bṛ. Up. IV,4.7). Again with regard to the knower of the Self is stated the creatorship of the world :—

" whoever has found and has awakened to the Self that has entered into this perilous inaccessible place (the heart), he is the maker of the universe, for he is the maker of all. His is the world ; indeed, he is the world itself ", (Bṛ. Up.

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५४ तत्रैव, ४.३.३५

५५ तत्रैव, ४.४.४

५६ तत्रैव, ४.४.७ काण्वशाखायाम्—" अथायमशरीरोऽमृतः प्राणो ब्रह्मैव तेज एव "। इति पठ्यते ।

५७ " काण्वशाखायां " संदेहे " इति पाठो वर्त्तते ।

५८ तत्रैव, ४.४.१३

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स न साधुना कर्मणा भूयां (यान्)। नो एवासाधुना कनीयानेष भूताधिपतिरेष लोकेश्वरः, एष लोकपालः[५९]। स(एष) सेतुवि(र्वि)धरण एषां लोकानामसंभेदाय"[६०] इत्यादिना। तत्र यद्ययमेवात्मा परमात्मा न स्यात्तदा अस्यैवात्मनो जगत्कर्तृत्वमुक्तं व्याहन्येत। तद्विद्वुषोऽपि पुरुषस्य जगत्कर्तृत्वमुक्तं च व्याहन्येत।

न चानया श्रुत्या परमात्मैवोक्त इति वाच्यम्। "योऽयं विज्ञानमय" इत्यारभ्य ब्राह्मणद्वयेन तस्यैवात्मन उपसंहृतत्वात्। यद्येतस्यात्मनो भिन्नत्वेन परमात्मा प्रतिपादितः स्यात् तदा "विज्ञानमय" इत्यारभ्य "तद्यथाऽहिनिर्ल्व(र्व्य)यनी" इत्यन्तया श्रुत्या मुख-(ख्य)त उक्तस्य जीवस्य प्रतिपादनं निःप्र(निष्प्र)योजनं स्यात्। अग्रेऽ(पि) "तदप्येते श्लोका" इत्यादिना पूर्वोक्तस्यैवात्मनः पुनरेतैर्मं(मँ)त्रैरुक्तस्यार्थस्य दृढीकृतत्वात्। तस्माद् ब्राह्मणद्वयेनोपक्रमोपसंहाराभ्यां परमात्मैव प्रतिपादितः। ततश्च "शारीर आत्मा प्राज्ञेनात्मना" इत्यत्रापि सुषुप्तिमरणयोः परमात्मैव भवतीत्युक्तम्। भिन्नत्वेन शारीरग्रहणं तु तदानीं

IV. 4.13). Further, once again in respect of this same Self is stated the creatorship of the world :—" Verily, he is the great unborn Self who is this (person) consisting of knowledge among the senses. In the space within the heart lies the controller of all, the lord of all. He rules over all that exists. He does not become greater by good works, nor smaller by evil works. He is the ruler of beings, the Lord of the world, the guard of the world. He is the supporting bridge that serves as the boundary to keep the different worlds apart". (Br. Up. IV.4.22). In this context (it is to be noted that) if this very soul were not God, the creatorship of the world ascribed to this soul alone, will be contradicted. And the creatorship of the world stated of the knower of this (Self) will be contradicted.

Nor can it be urged that by this scripture God alone is stated, for by two sections beginning with :—' He who consists of knowledge ', (the topic of) the same (soul) is concluded. Had God been enunciated as different from this soul, the principal exposition of the soul by the scripture, beginning with : ' He who consists of knowledge ', ending with : ' Just as the slough of a snake ', will be devoid of significance. Further too (in the same scripture), the same subject, relating to the soul, referred to earlier, has been corroborated with those verses (which are quoted) introduced with the caption : ' There are the following verses '. God alone, therefore, is enunciated by the two sections, with the help of *upakrama* or initiating the subject and *upasaṁhāra* or conclusion. Thereafter, (the fact that) the embodied soul (even) in the states of deep sleep and death too remains God alone, is asserted by (the scriptural passage) : ' the embodied soul (mounted) by the intelligent Self ". The separate mention of the

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५९ काण्वशाखायाम् " एष सर्वेश्वरः; एष भूतपालः " इति पठ्यते। ६० तैत्तिरीय, ४.४.२२.

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जीवत्वाभिमानाभावो भवतीत्यभिप्रायः(येण)। "ममैवांशो जीवलोके जीवभूतः सनातने"[६१] (न इ)त्यत्राप्यंशशब्देन यथा नेत्रावछे(च्छे)दे प्रतिबिम्बत्वेन पुरुषस्याल्पत्वं तथा परमात्मनोऽप्यविद्याप्रतिबिम्बत्वेनाल्पत्वम्। अयमेवांशो भगवतोक्तः। अन्यथाऽग्रिमश्लोके—

"शरीरं यदवाप्नोति यच्चाऽप्युत्क्रामतीश्वरः।
गृहै(हि)त्वैतानि संयाति वायुर्गन्धानिवाशयात्"[६२] ॥

इत्यत्रेश्वरस्य शरीरग्रहणमुक्तं व्याहन्येत। शरीरग्रहणं तु अंशभूतस्य जीवस्यैव घटते न परमात्मनस्तस्याशरीरत्वात्। तस्मात्परमात्मैवाविद्या(द्य)या जीवत्वं भजते, नांशत्वेनेति। अयमेवार्थोऽजातशत्रुब्राह्मणे भाष्यकारेण, वार्त्तिककारेण च प्रतिपादितो द्रष्टान्तेन। कश्चिद्राजपुत्रो बाल्याद् व्याधग्रे(ग्र)हे वृद्धिग(द्धिङ्ग)तोऽहं व्याध इत्यज्ञानान्मन्यमानः केन चित् ब्राह्मणेन तद्वृत्तान्ताभिज्ञेन "न व्याधस्त्वं राजपुत्रोऽसी"त्युक्तः सद्य एव जानाति "नाहं व्याधः किन्तु राजाऽहमस्मी"ति मन्यते। यथाऽसौ पूर्वं व्याधाभिमानदशायामपि राजैवासीत्, ज्ञानोत्तरमपि राजैव भवति। तथाऽयमपि परमात्मा अज्ञानावस्थायां जीवोऽहमिति मन्यमानोऽपि परमात्मैवासीत्। ज्ञानोत्तरमपि परमात्मैव भवति, न कदापि जीवः।

(term) embodied is aimed to indicate that then (in that state of enlightenment), there is no conceit of the soulhood. The term fraction used with regard to the soul in "A portion of my own self, having become a living soul, eternal, in the world of life" (Bh.G. XV. 7), signifies that as the reflection of a person, being delimited by the eye, is said to be small, even so God too is said to be delimited, when reflected in the nescience. The Lord (Kṛṣṇa) speaks of this very fraction, otherwise the statement that the Lord takes a body (becomes embodied), made in the next verse, will be contradicted :—"When the Lord takes up a body and when he leaves it, he departs taking these (the senses and mind) even as the wind carries perfumes from their source (flowers)," (Bh. G. XV. 8 .

Taking of a body is appropriate for the soul who is a fraction and not for God since He is without body. God, alone, therefore, attains soulhood through nescience, not by being a fraction. This idea has been propounded by the commentator (Śaṅkara) and by the *Vārttikakāra* (Sureśvarācārya) in the Ajataśatru section by emyloying an illustration. A prince, who is brought up in the house of a hunter, ignorantly believes 'I am a hunter'. Told by some Brāhmaṇa, who knew his history : 'You are not a hunter but a prince', he, immediately knows and believes : 'I am not a hunter but a king'. As he, even in the earlier state of the conceit of being a hunter, was king alone, becomes a king after knowledge (of the truth). Similarly this God, though believing himself to be a soul, in the state of ignorance, was God alone and becomes God after knowledge. Thus, He was never a soul.

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६१ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, १५.७. ६२ तत्रैव, १५.८.

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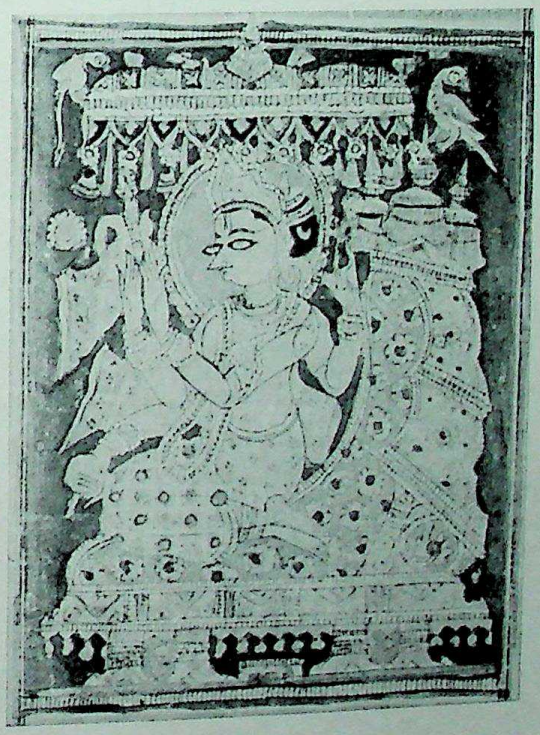
Śakra assuming five forms performs Jina's Birth-bath ceremony (MS. Painting)

Figure 1



Śakra performing obeissance to the newly born Jina (Śakra-stava) MS, of Kalpa-sūtra d. 1547 V. S., L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad

Figure 2

(Refer to Dr. U. P. Shah's article)

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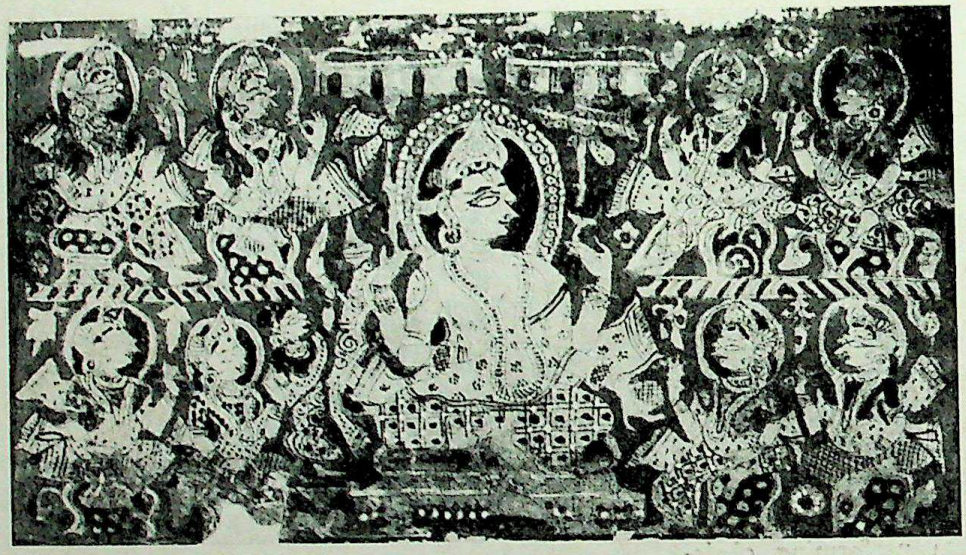

Figure 4
Śakra's Court
Painting from Kalpa-sūtra MS., Jñānamandira, Baroda
(Refer to Dr. U. P. Shah's article)